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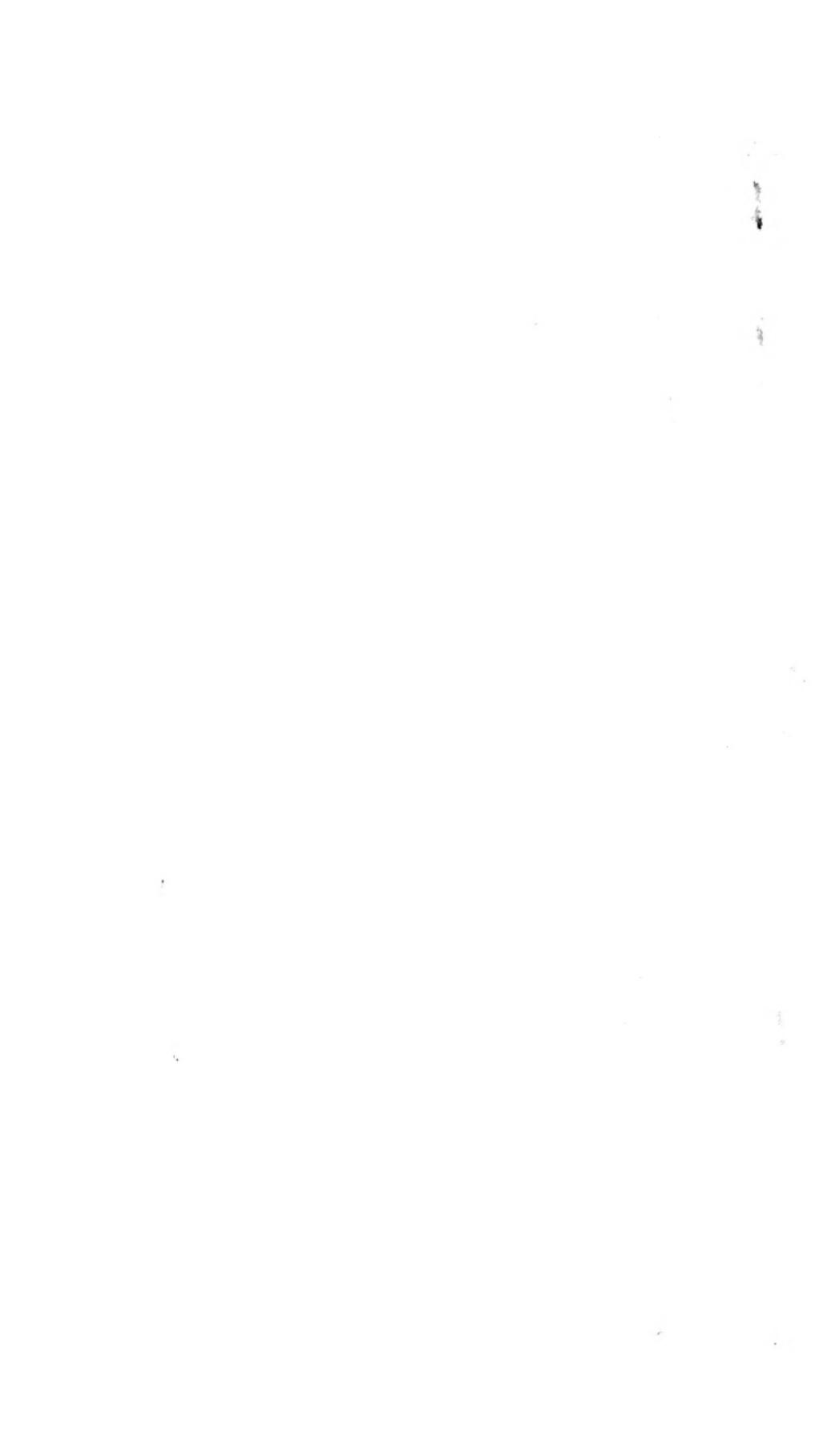
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OF  
THE VOLUNTEERS  
OF  
1782.

BY THOMAS MAC NEVIN, Esq.,

BARRISTER AT LAW

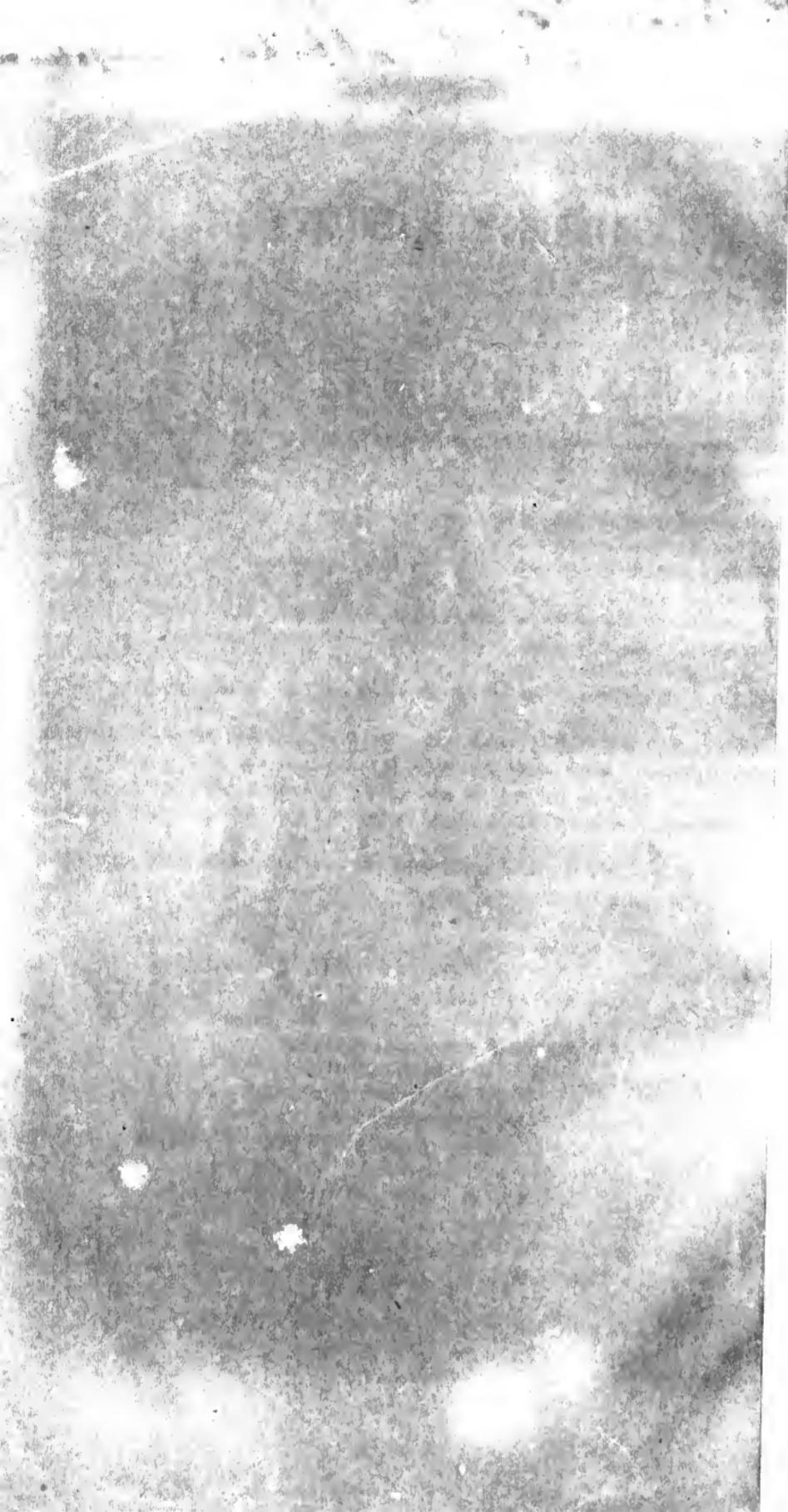
"When Grattan rose, none dare oppose  
The claim he made for freedom;  
They knew our swords, to back his words,  
Were ready, did he need them."

DAVIS—(*Spirit of the Nation.*)



NEW YORK:  
R. MARTIN & CO., 26 JOHN-STREET.

MDCCXLV.



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to

WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN, Esq., M. P.

MY DEAR SIR—

I beg to inscribe the following work with your name.

I know of few living men more fit than you to have played an honourable part in the great Revolution of which this book treats, or to direct the struggles of the present generation to revive its glory and to re-acquire its benefits.

With these feelings, and with others of sincere friendship, I dedicate the following pages to you, and beg to subscribe myself

Your humble Servant,

THOMAS MAC NEVIN.



# INTRODUCTION.

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## EARLY IRISH PARLIAMENTS.

FOR all purposes but one, any details of the early Irish Parliaments would be unnecessary in this work. But it is thought advisable to place some facts, relative to these bodies, before the reader, for the purpose of his better understanding the struggle in which the Volunteers were engaged, and the institution they succeeded in restoring.

We must not expect to find in the first parliaments held in Ireland, much of the form or spirit of modern legislative assemblies. The growth of these institutions has been slow; and the perfection of modern times, or any admixture of the democratic element, would be sought for in vain in the rude Baronial assemblies of ancient Ireland.

The parliaments of our early history in connexion with Britain, were assemblies in which the Irish natives had no participation of any kind. Those by whose writ or authority they were summoned, did not even assume that they had in view the interests of the people whose ancient inheritance they came to usurp; and the statutes and ordinances which, from time to time, were passed in these parliaments, are sufficiently indicative of the spirit of hostility with which the Irish people were regarded.

If we consider the question merely in an antiquarian point of view, we can have no difficulty in determining that the origin of parliaments in Ireland, if not contemporaneous with the English invasion, is still of very remote antiquity:—but that the institution in its benefits, or in its protection, was not extended to the mass of the people until the power of England was recognised over the whole island, is a matter of equal certainty. Looking at the question politically, the Irish Parliament becomes a matter of very inconsiderable import in the history of the people of Ireland. It was an assembly summoned usually to vote supplies to the king, for the marriage of his daughters or the advancement of his sons, to carry on his wars—often against the Irish enemy—or to hear and decide certain “pleas of parliament” which came within its ill-defined jurisdiction. The entries on the rolls preserved in the Record Offices, are almost all to this effect.

Some writers on this subject have insisted that Henry the Second summoned a parliament in this country. In the learned work of Mr. Lynch on the Feudal Baronies of Ireland, the author relies upon the authority of many statutes passed in Ireland when Parliaments were without doubt held here, as proving by reference contained in them to the existence of such bodies *from the time in which memory runneth*

*not, and from the acquirement of the said land, the contemporaneous existence of legislative assemblies with the first English settlement.* But there were no parliamentary rolls or journals until a much later period, and the only document, of the date of Henry the Second's reign, upon which Mr. Lynch relies, is the statute Henry Fitz-Empress (another name for that monarch) passed for the election of a chief governor when that officer should vacate his office ; and by this statute or ordinance (for it may be called by either designation) it was provided that the chancellor and other officers should, *with the consent of the nobles of the land*, have power to elect a governor. But this act was more probably passed in a Curia Regis or Common Council, similar to that held at Lismore, in 1172, by Henry the Second ; indeed the author afterwards calls such assemblies "parliaments or public councils."\*

During Henry's reign, he very probably more than once held councils of this kind, to which his nobles and prelates were summoned to consult on the affairs of the realm ; but our distinguished historian† with great justice remarks, that, to apply the term *parliament* to such assemblies is, if not an anachronism in language, at least a use of the term calculated to mislead, inasmuch as that form of legislative council to which we give at present that name, did not develope itself, however long its rudiments may have been in existence, for more than a hundred years afterwards. Mr. Lynch, on the other hand, relies upon the authority of the statute of Fitz-Empress, which was re-enacted in a parliament assembled in the second year of Richard the Third, and the learned author refers to the works of Hovenden, Geraldus Cambrensis, Matthew Paris, and Brompton, for accounts of the parliamentary transactions in the reign of Henry the Second. But the statements of these writers must be taken in connexion with the observations already made. They treated of the acts of bodies, to which the term *parliament*, in our sense of the word, cannot possibly apply ; wanting, as they undoubtedly did, all the component ingredients which make up the modern idea—wanting representation, election by votes, and all those forms by which the selection of representatives and their proceedings were guided and controlled at a later period.

In his work on the constitution, Mr. Hallam recapitulates the extent to which British laws and usages were introduced into Ireland, during the reign of Henry and his successors. Limiting the classes, to which the British constitution was in anywise imparted, to the English colony, and to the Ostmen who inhabited the maritime towns, and observing that the Irish chieftains never thought of renouncing their authority or the customs of their forefathers ; he says, that Henry gave charters of privilege to the chief towns, began a division into counties, appointed sheriffs and judges of assize to administer justice, erected supreme courts at Dublin, "and *perhaps* assembled parliaments."‡ He does not give any reason for the supposition.

\* Lynch's Feudal Baronies of Ireland, p. 38.

† Moore's History, vol. 2. p. 258.

‡ Hallam's Constitutional History, vol. 3. p. 466.

In the reign of John, there are several instances of public councils being held; but in all cases the writs are directed to the barons, archbishops, bishops, and to certain tenants of the King. In the third year of this monarch, writs were issued to the barons of Meath, requiring of them "to give faith to what Meiler Fitzhenry, his justiciary or chief governor, should say to them." Another instance occurred in the fifth year of his reign, in which the writs were directed to the archbishops, bishops, &c., and to the justices, sheriffs, knights, citizens, merchants, burgesses, and freeholders (that is to say, tenants of free tenure under the King;) and they are asked to give him an aid similar to one he had already received in England. John had bound himself by *Magna Charta* to summon to such general assemblies the greater barons by special writs, and the lesser barons by writs directed to the sheriff. There are other instances in the same period of similar councils thus summoned, and for one specific purpose—to grant an aid or to take council on the state of the country—and we may observe the rudiments of the principles which afterwards controlled the Parliaments of Ireland, slowly unfolding themselves in these early councils. The constitution of these countries is not a system devised and propounded at any one given period, but is the cumulative result of the additions made, from time to time, of something new and required to existing forms, the slowly matured fruit of successive experiments. And the mistake which many writers have made consists in this, that they discuss these early and unshaped institutions by a standard derived altogether from their own experience of a comparatively perfect system. Hence those early Baronial Councils, called together by the exigencies of the monarch, and wanting all the spirit and characteristics of a parliament, are treated as parliaments in many of our books of historical and constitutional learning.

Several writs issued during the reign of Henry the Third, to his barons, bishops, and knights, calling them together for the purpose of giving him assistance towards marrying his son and daughter, and to enable him to execute a sworn voyage to the Holy Land, and the like.\* The laws and institutions of England were, by the extension of the Great Charter in the reign of Henry the Third, conceded to Ireland, with a singular anomaly of exclusion—the people were to take no benefit by the grant. The new adventurers lived peculiarly for the day: they did not appear to look beyond present enjoyment, and the opportunity which was afforded to them of creating an empire amongst a willing people, of laying the foundations deep and wide of a great system of civilization upon the basis of conquest and of community of laws, institutions, and customs, was thrown away on the plundering chivalry of the Anglo-Normans. We may conclude that the natives of Ireland were but little interested in the parliamentary details of this reign. Lynch, however, gives several entries on the rolls of parliamentary grants to the monarch; and there is no

\* In Rhymer's *Fædera*, will be found a writ to convene an Irish Parliament in this reign, A.D. 1253. See Grattan's *Life* by his Son, 1st vol. p. 10.

doubt that several councils were assembled for the usual purposes, at Dublin and Kilkenny.

The reign of Edward the First was memorable in the English annals, for it was during its continuance that the parliamentary power was moulded into its present shape. The authority of parliament previous to that period was supposed to reside in the baronage, which constituted the great councils of the nation. The only duty of the Commons was to grant money; and their privileges did not extend further than the presentation of petitions.\* It is difficult to believe that the system was more amply developed in Ireland. The country was less able to supply materials for a third estate, and all the previous parliaments were most probably little better than great councils composed of barons, prelates, and their retainers. Yet a very important assemblage was held in this reign—important in the indications it gives of the state of the country and the relations which existed between the English and the native Irish, and also important for some of the measures it adopted. It ordained a new division of the kingdom into counties; that absentees should assign a portion of the profits of their Irish lands to maintain a military force; that, in consequence of the incursions of the natives on the marches or borders of the English settlement, the lords marchers who should neglect the maintenance of their wards, should forfeit their lands; that no lord should wage war without license of the chief governor or special mandate of the monarch; and that no person of any degree should harbour more followers than he could maintain.†

Perhaps the most important piece of legislation which remains to be noticed, before we reach that period of our parliamentary history with which we are chiefly interested, is the Statute of Kilkenny, passed during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Clarence and the reign of Henry the Third; because, whatever skill or learning may be expended in defining the powers and exaggerating the antiquity of legislative institutions in Ireland, it proves that for two centuries after the invasion, the people were without the benefit of English laws, and had no participation whatever in their enactment or administration. The Statute of Kilkenny was curiously happy in its tendency to effect that

\* The first admission of the Commons to the English legislature comprised merely the king's tenants in capite. In the charter of John, the words are "*omnes illos qui de nobis tenent in capite.*" In the charter of Henry the Third it is stated that for the concessions therein contained, the "*archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbones priores, comites, barones milites, libere tenentes et omnes de regno nostro,*" gave him a fifteenth. This was an additional element—free-holders were summoned to the councils or parliaments. In the reign of Edward the First, the *confirmatio cartarum*, 25 Edward I, c. 5, the king's grants "to the archbishops, &c., as also to the earls, &c., and all the commonalty of the land not to take aids, tasks, or prizes, due and accustomed; and by the *statutum de tallagio* in the 26 Edward I, no tallage or aid is to be imposed without the will and assent of the whole, archbishops, &c., earls, barons, and knights, burgesses, and other free commons of our realm." These parliaments were composed of 169 members; 37 shires returned two members each, and 132 boroughs returned a member each. The writs of summons of this reign direct the sheriff to return two knights for each shire, and for each borough two burgesses; the former were summoned for themselves and the commonalty of their counties—the latter were summoned for themselves and the commonalty of cities and boroughs, *divisim ab ipsis*. This appears the first material step towards modern classification.

† Moore's History, vol. 3, p. 41.

perpetual separation and enmity between the English and the Irish, which Sir John Davis asserts, was a favourite object with the governments of Ireland. It was principally directed against those who were called “ degenerate English;” in other words, those who had adopted the manners and fashions of the people they dwelt amongst; but it was also filled with severe legislation against the native Irish. It destroyed the possibility of future union between the races in their social and political relations, prohibiting intermarriage with the Irish or any of those ties of gossipred,\* which, dearer in their adoption than any natural link, were fondly cherished by the native people of Ireland; making penal the adoption of an Irish name, the use of an Irish dress, language, or customs; declaring it to be treason to submit to the Brehon law; forbidding the English to permit the natives to pasture on their lands, or to admit their news-tellers, rhymers, or minstrels to abide with them.

One can scarcely help fancying, that it required considerable art and determination to keep those two races distinct. If we can judge by the laws what were the inclinations of the people, they appear to have been anxious to mingle in all relations, and to make common cause against the oppressions of depoted tyranny and the wrongs inflicted directly by the English government. A policy, perfectly similar to that which took its place, when differences of religion afforded a new medium of division, was adopted by the party interested in the perpetuation of discord and contention in Ireland, and its effects have been in both instances the same—the ruin of the country and the sacrifice of her freedom.

From time to time, Parliaments of a similar nature to the Parliament of Kilkenny, and abundant in similar legislation, were held in different parts of Ireland—their uniform object being to repress English degeneracy, and to organize oppression against the ancient inhabitants of the country. The facts connected with these assemblies belong to the general history of Ireland—they present no peculiar feature which bears upon the subject of this book.

Stringent, however, as their legislation undoubtedly was, and continuous as were the military efforts to reduce the country, neither parliaments nor arms made much impression. The Pale was gradually narrowing around the English power—a power which was unable to force submission, or to compensate usurpation by protection. In the reign of Henry the Seventh, the foreign rule of Ireland extended only to four counties—Dublin, Louth, Kildare, and Meath.

But the accession of the Tudors was the true commencement of Irish subjection. The English colonists, in the wars of York and Lancaster, had attached themselves to the fortunes of the White Rose, and their parliaments of the Pale had recognised and enforced the contemptible pretensions of Simnel and Warbeck. The mockery

\* Another word for fostering. (See Moore, p. 108.) “Fostering hath always been a stronger alliance than blood; and the foster-children do love and are beloved of these foster-fathers, and their sept, more than of their own natural parents and kindred, and do participate of their means more frankly, and do adhere unto them in all fortunes with more affection and constancy.”

of a coronation in Christ church, which signalized the pretensions of Simnel, was followed by the invasion of England with a few thousand German adventurers and a crowd of the Anglo-Irish of the Pale. The result, after great but unavailing valour on their part, was the destruction of the invaders and the translation of Simnel to the kitchen of the King. The great lords of the Pale, who, headed by Fitzgerald, the Earl of Kildare, had taken part in the rebellion, lay prostrate at the mercy of Henry, and it is a reflection upon his policy, that he did not crush them when so fully in his power. They stood between the English sovereigns and the Irish people : many of them adopted Irish habits and formed Irish connexions, but they preserved enough of the pride of English birth, and the feeling of conquerors, to prompt them to retain in their hands all the benefits of the laws and institutions of England. It was the aristocratic party of the Pale who opposed the presumed intentions of several of the English monarchs to extend the protection of English laws to the Irish natives ; and Henry, on the failure of Simnel's rash rebellion, was in the position to adopt in Ireland the policy he so successfully employed at home, where, in the course of his successful and sagacious career, he destroyed the powerful class of nobility, which shared amongst its members the powers, and emulated the splendour of the monarchy. However, he did not adopt his own precedent. He permitted the Earl of Kildare, rebellious even in the chair of viceroyalty, to retain his office, and, with a few exceptions, extended his pardon to all the parties who were implicated in the rebellion. But his lenity was repaid by a repetition of the farce of an escaped prince. Under similar auspices to those which ended in the ludicrous failure of Simnel, Perkin Warbeck presented himself to the rebellious spirits of the Pale, as Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward the Fourth ; and he, it was said, had escaped the murderous hand of the assassin, when his elder brother was killed in the Tower. The design of setting up this Pretender, which was warmly adopted by the Anglo-Irish of the Pale, soon became known to Henry. His measures grew more consonant to his general character ; he dismissed the Earl of Kildare from power, and after Warbeck had landed in Ireland, he adopted the first step which had ever been taken of real importance, "to curb the spirit of provincial despotism, which the English government itself let loose and fostered." \*

The Parliament of the Pale had been always in the hands of the great lords, the ready instrument of perpetuating and strengthening their dominion, and oppressing the natives of Ireland. It was the parliament of four counties, the abject instrument of dispensing the favours of power according to the pleasure of the predominant family —Butler or Fitzgerald—and the coercive and cruel medium by which the Irish people were harassed and oppressed. But if it were the instrument of grievous wrong to the body of the nation, it was also quick to assist the great lords in every scheme of rebellion, to which their ambition or turbulence gave birth. It was a tyrant and a rebel.

\* Moore's History, vol. 3, p. 217.

And it was to destroy its disturbing activity, that Henry determined to surround it with restrictions, and to reduce it from being the active instrument of mischief, into a mere court of registry to record the edicts of the English government, or its Irish deputies.

The agent for effecting this purpose was well chosen. Sir Edward Poynings was sent to Ireland with a small military force, and a crowd of the most eminent English lawyers. He was a resolute and severe man. The restrictions on the parliaments of the Pale formed a part of a great and well considered scheme of national reduction. The duties of Poynings, who was appointed Lord Deputy, were to destroy the power of the great lords, to introduce English habits and English laws amongst the inhabitants within the English borders, to put an end to the local quarrels which distracted the district nominally acknowledging the power of England, to substitute an equitable system of taxation for the extortions practised by the retainers of the Barons, and having effected the preliminary settlement of the Pale to proceed to the reduction of the native inhabitants. The latter portion of his appointed duty was reserved for sterner and bloodier hands. But he did not leave unfulfilled the previous and necessary mission of extinguishing the power of the Lords and the Parliament.

In the month of November, 1494, the Parliament of Drogheda was held.

It is celebrated above all other parliaments of times preceding its session or following it, for legislation which controlled the constitutional powers of Irish parliaments, up to the period of which this book treats. For though bold and virtuous opposition was given, from time to time, to the usurpation of England, it was not until the Declaration of Legislative Independence in 1782, that the Parliament of Ireland was perfectly emancipated from the restrictions which the legislation of Drogheda imposed, and which was subsequently either repeated or explained by the acts of Philip and Mary, and the 6th George the First.

The legislation of the Parliament of Drogheda was of a very beneficial nature, as far as the Pale was concerned. One of its first acts was the abolition of the practices of *coign and livery*, and the preamble to the act is so illustrative of that district, that it is here presented to the reader :—

“ At the request and supplication of the commons of this land of Ireland, that where of long time there hath been used and exacted by the lords and gentlemen of this land many and divers damnable customs and usages, called *coign and livery*, and pay, that is horse meat and man’s meat; besides many murders, robberies, rapes, and other manifold extortions and oppressions, by the said horsemen and footmen, daily and nightly committed and done, which being the principal causes of the desolation and destruction of the said land, hath brought the same into ruin and decay, so as the most part of the English freeholders and tenants of this land be departed out thereof, some into the realm of England, and other some into other strange lands; whereupon the aforesaid lords and gentlemen of this said land have intruded into the said freeholders’ and tenants’ inheritance, and the

same keep and occupy as their own, and setten under them to the king's Irish enemies, to the diminishing of holy Church's rites, the disherison of the king and his obedient subjects, and the utter ruin and desolation of the land."

The preamble of another act of this session, is fully explanatory of the relations existing between the English settlers and the Irish natives, and indicative of the action of what were called Irish Parliaments on the people of the country. It recites:—

"As the marches of four shires lie open, and not fensible in fastness of ditches and castles, by which Irishmen do great hurt in preying the same, it is enacted, that every inhabitant, earth-tiller, and occupier in said marches, i. e., in the county of Dublin, from the water of Annaliffey to the mountain of Kildare, from the water of Annaliffey to Trim, and soforth to Meath and Uriel, as said marches are made and limited by an act of parliament, held by William, Bishop of Meath, do build and make a double ditch of six feet high above ground at one side or part which meareth next unto Irishmen, betwixt this and next Lammas, the said ditches to be kept up and repaired as long as they shall occupy said land, under pain of forty shillings, the lord of said lands to allow the old rent of said lands to the builder for one year, under said penalty. The Archbishop of Dublin, and the Sheriff of the county of Dublin, the Bishop and Sheriff of Kildare, the Bishop and Sheriff of Meath, the Primate of Armagh, and the Sheriff of Uriel (county Louth), to be commissioners within their respective shires, with full power to call the inhabitants of said four shires to make ditches in the waste or fasagh lands without the said marches." To fence out the Irishmen was a great step of practical civilization in those good old times; and even to the present day, but in a different fashion, it is considered excellent policy.

But the statute with which we have peculiarly to do, in a history of the Volunteers of Ireland, is that which defines and limits the power of Irish Parliaments, and the doctrines of which—when these bodies became to some degree representative of the people of Ireland—continued to retain them within the restrictive limits which were destroyed by the virtue and valour of the National Army of '82. The law of Poynings enacted, that "all acts made as well by his majesty as by his royal progenitors late kings of England, concerning the common and public weal of the same, were accepted and confirmed to be used in Ireland according to the tenor and effect thereof." And by another act of the same legislation, it was provided that "no parliament should be held in Ireland until the causes and considerations for holding it were first certified by the deputy and council to the king, with the scope and intention of the acts proposed to be passed. The clause is as follows:—

"Item, at the request of the commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and license, wherein amongst other the king's grace entendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, sith the last day of the reign of King Edward the Second, no parliament be holden hereafter in the said

land, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the king under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the king and his council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his license thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained: that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed: and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law."

Hallam considers that the operation of the first of these acts effected a marked change in Irish jurisprudence, all statutes made previous to the 18th year of Henry VII, being thereby received as Irish law, whilst none of later date were to have any operation unless specially adopted by the Irish Parliament.\* But whatever was its effect, there can be no doubt either of the intention or of the results of the last of these statutes, which, in this country, is peculiarly known as Poynings' Law. "Whatever might be its motives," observes the same distinguished writer, "it proved in course of time the great means of preserving the subordination of an island, which, from the similarity of constitution, and the high spirit of its inhabitants, was constantly panting for an independence which her more powerful neighbour neither desired nor dared to concede."† These laws, originally confined in their operation to the very narrow limits of the English power, extended with its extension, and will be found at a later and more eventful period of our history to be of material influence.‡ The law of Poynings, immediately after its enactment, gave rise to a great variety of interpretation. It was thought by some, that the conditions contained in it were only preliminary to holding a parliament, which, when assembled, was competent to treat not alone of the matter certified to the crown, but of all matters concerning the public weal. Others, on the contrary, contended that the parliament was limited to the subjects and acts transmitted from England. The parliament for some time acted on both interpretations, and occasionally passed bills which had not been transmitted. Such was the looseness with which the celebrated law was interpreted shortly after its enactment. But the doubts to which it gave rise were settled by a declaratory act, the 3d and 4th Philip and Mary, by which it declared the chief governor and council empowered, during the session, to certify other causes and considerations, &c., as they shall think necessary; but it is also declared that no other acts but those transmitted either before or during the session could be enacted by parliament; thus, as Leland says, denying the right the parliaments had pre-

\* Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. 3, p. 481. † Hallam, vol. 3, p. 482.

‡ Some other interesting pieces of legislation, not relative to our subject, were passed in Drogheda. The wild war-cries adopted by the English families in imitation of the natives were forbidden; the statutes of Kilkenny, except as far as the use of the Irish language was concerned, were revived; the use of bows and arrows enjoined; to stir up the Irishry to war was declared high treason; and the lords of Ireland were compelled to wear in parliament the same sort of robes as were worn by the English lords in the parliament of England.

viously assumed, and confining them within stricter limits than before. The theory of reduction which Henry the Seventh attempted to realize in Ireland, was amply fulfilled in the ruthless reigns of his successors, Henry the Eighth, and Elizabeth. By enormous cruelties, successful military depredations, depopulation, destruction of the food of the people, and by other means of which the barbarities practised by the Spaniards in the Americas were but faint resemblances, the power of England was declared to be supreme over *ashes and carcasses*. It is, fortunately, no part of our business to deal with the history of unparalleled cruelties and oppressions, which Spenser chronicles and defends.\* It is enough to say, that, after the long war of freedom, the country at the beginning of the reign of the first of the weak and wicked line of Stuart, was rendered amenable to English law, and enjoyed at least the reputation of possessing English institutions.

The accession of James the First to the throne of England, formed a new era in the history of this country. Tyrone had submitted himself to the English power towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth, and a peace produced by systematic barbarities, existed through the island. James was ambitious of the character of a lawgiver, and his scheme of civilizing Ireland was one not without wisdom, though it greatly lacked the qualities of justice and mercy. Sheriffs were appointed throughout the kingdom; and territorial divisions were established in its every part. The old tenures of gavelkind, and the custom of tanistry were abolished; the estates of the chieftains were taken into the hands of the crown and re-granted with the legal titles under which English property was held. The system of English colonization known by the name, formidable in our history, of Plantation, was introduced. It was a summary method by which the natives, under one false pretence or another—the usual slanders of English avarice, rebellion or non-conformity—were expelled from the inheritance of their fathers, and a grasping crew of English, but, indeed, principally Scotch adventurers, *planted* in the ancient homes of the people. The parliaments of the day were ready agents of confiscation, passing acts of attainder as they were required on the most ridiculous pretences, and the falsest evidence. Thus, in 1569, O'Neill was attainted, and his inherited territories of Down and Antrim were confiscated. In 1583 the Earl of Desmond was attainted, and 574,628 Irish acres fell into the hands of the crown. The two great northern chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnell, were accused of having engaged in a conspiracy, and aware of the result of awaiting the process of English law, they fled the country and were attainted. Five hundred thousand acres in Ulster were the rich prey of the king—the splendid prize of artful iniquity. And in the domains of the expatriated chiefs of Ulster was planted that colony of Scotch and English which “have rendered that province, from being the seat of the wildest natives, the most flourishing, the most Protestant, and the most enlightened part of Ireland.”† Such is the moral an English Whig historian finds

\* The “gentle poet” was the eulogist of Grey, whose career in Ireland is so revolting from its excesses and abominations.—Leland, p. 287; Hallam, vol. 3, p. 494.

† Hallam, vol. 3, p. 505.

in the great scheme of national robbery which was devised by the corruptest statesman in England—Bacon\*—and executed by the crafty and cruel Chichester.† It is worth remark, that it was in that province, too, that the Volunteers of Ireland played a most conspicuous part, and the United Irishmen made an unsuccessful effort to effect the independence of their country: nor is it a rash surmise that there, even in the scene of plunder and oppression, a new race will arise, which will compensate the miseries of the Ulster plantation. The confiscated lands were, under various conditions divided amongst 104 English and Scotch undertakers,‡ 56 servitors, and 286 natives.

It was in the reign of James that Ireland assumed the uniform political appearance it has since, with a short interval, maintained, of a subordinated kingdom united to England, and by the construction put by English lawyers, and as we think justly, on the law of Poynings, with a legislature dependant on that of England.

Twenty-seven years of rapine, massacre, and disorder had passed, since a parliament had been assembled in Ireland, when in 1612 Sir Arthur Chichester, the deputy of James, intimated his intention of summoning a parliament on a wider basis, and influenced by a more extensive theory of representation than had been up to that period known in Ireland. No one of Irish blood had ever sat in parliament until the end of Henry the Eighth's reign; nor did the Irish Parliament even assume to represent the entire island until the reign of James the First. There was something constitutional and respectable in the name of Parliament, and their sanction to the designs of conquest or oppression was seldom withheld. The Recusant party, (as the Catholics were called,) however, having still a considerable power in the state, and being able to send a great proportion of their representatives to parliament, the deputy, to counteract their influence, created forty new boroughs, of inconsiderable towns, so poor as not to be able to pay the wages of their representatives; they would in the strangeness of modern phraseology be termed “potwollopping-boroughs.” The establishment of territorial divisions had added seventeen new counties to the representative system, imperfect and rude as it then

\* It is singular what parts three of the great literary reputations of England have played in Ireland, or in her regard—the corrupt Bacon, the sanguinary Raleigh, and the gentle Spenser. The latter of these bad men gratifies the poetic tendencies of his nature in a vivid description of the effects of the diabolical policy which he has the hardihood to defend. The suggestions of the poet are to the following effect:—“The end will (I assure mee) be very short, and much sooner than it can be in so great a trouble as it seemeth hoped for; although there should none of them fall by the sword, nor be slain by the soldiour; yet their being kept from manurance, and their cattle from running abroad, by this hard restraint **THEY WOULD QUICKLY CONSUME THEMSELVES AND DEVOUR ONE ANOTHER.**”—Spenser's Ireland, p. 165. The result of the false and vicious morality which pervades English literature cannot be better illustrated than by the fact, that we are taught to think admiringly of a wretch capable of devising so horrible a villany as that which his own callous pen thus coldly records!

† Chichester reaped the reward of superintending this grand project of plunder. James was “so well pleased with the progress of *his schemes of reformation*,” that he vested him with the territory of Innishowen, and all the lands lately belonging to Sir Cahir O'Dogherty. Leland, vol. 2, p. 438.

‡ The division was, firstly, to English and Scotch, who were to plant their lands with English and Scotch tenants. Secondly, to men employed under government, who might take English or Irish tenants as they pleased. Thirdly, to the natives of the confiscated estates, who were to be freeholders. For the full understanding of the duties and character of undertakers, see Harris's *Hibernica*, p. 66; Leland, vol. 2, p. 433.

was. The new parliament, which was loudly exclaimed against by the six lords of the pale, Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Lowth, was thus intended to present the appearance of general representation in which not only the British settlers but the native people were to have a voice. Sir John Davies of the king's party was elected speaker. The details of the factious proceedings of the parliament of 1613 are irrelevant to our subject. It is sufficient to remark, that this was the first parliament in which the whole people were supposed to be represented. The number of members was 232; it was on many other occasions increased, and in 1692 reached 300.\* The effect of this augmentation of the representation and increase of the boroughs, will be found afterwards to have been the most fatal engine in the destruction of the Irish constitution in 1800.

The history of subsequent parliaments, to the period of the enactment of 6th George the First, may be very briefly despatched. The parliaments of Charles the First were subservient and rebellious—they were the instruments of Wentworth whilst he was powerful, and they aided the Commons of England in his destruction, after he had fallen from the dignity he so scandalously abused.

The parliament of Charles the Second gave up the purse of the nation by granting customs and excise in perpetuity, thus completing the voluntary surrender of all material power. It was said by Grattan, in moving the Declaration of Right, that though Ireland had surrendered her claim to propound and deliberate by Poynings' Act, and the purse of the nation by the grant in perpetuity of Excise and Customs, "still she had not given up her legislation." It is difficult to see what she had reserved, except it be the right to adopt the legislation of England and to re-enact it; and even this was taken from her by the 6th of George the First.

During the reigns of Charles the First and Charles the Second, the legislation of the country was in fact vested in the privy council: a negative was merely left to the parliament, and the only mode even of suggesting legislation was by an address to the Lord Lieutenant. After the Revolution, Heads of Bills were presented, which to some extent resembled acts of parliaments, with the difference that in place of the usual enacting words "be it enacted," the house "prayed that the bills might be passed."

The parliament of the Revolution is immortal from the perfidy with which it disregarded and violated the articles of the Treaty of Limerick, and from having originated the extraordinary code under which the Catholics of Ireland were so long and so terribly oppressed; but its history presents no feature of interest. It made no struggle for its own freedom; it scandalously adopted the jealous legislation which sacrificed the woollen trade of Ireland. It made no struggle to disenthral itself of the parliamentary supremacy of England—this remained an unquestioned and degrading fact. It was as contemptible a body as any that ever assumed the functions of legislation. Its two grand achievements were the persecution of the Catholics, and the destruction of the trade of their

\* Sir John Davies wrote an elaborate argument to prove that no parliament was ever held in Ireland until James's reign. His object was to exaggerate the merit of his master, and to represent him as the founder of a constitution.

country. In a vain attempt to usurp all the power of the state, the parliaments of William and of Anne accumulated on the devoted heads of the Catholics, a mass of penal legislation unparalleled in the history of human oppression. But after having had their own will of the Catholics, being allowed to use freely the powers of legislation whilst engaged in the grateful work of torture; they found out at last, that they were only permitted the privilege of persecution to serve the purposes of England. For the 6th George the First gave the last blow to any legislative freedom which might have survived the restrictions of ages—and plainly demonstrated to the Protestant nation, how little they had to expect at the hands of the English parliaments to which they had sold the trade and liberties of their country for the right to persecute and rob their “popish” fellow-countrymen.

This act had its rise in the following way. The impression became general through Ireland that it was impossible that civil liberty or social wealth could be acquired under the existing system of commercial and legislative restriction. This feeling found an organ in the celebrated Molyneux, whose “Case of Ireland, being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated,” whilst it received the applause of the intelligent men in this country, was burned by the common hangman at the bidding of the English House of Commons. It was considered in England a very dangerous work, dangerous in its tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and by refusing to recognize the subordination and dependence Ireland had, and ought to have upon England! But dangerous as its tendency doubtlessly was to the theory of oppression and servility, its lessons sunk deep into the hearts of the people, and produced effects too alarming to English notions not to require the most stringent measures of restriction. These effects will be seen in the events connected with the cause of Sherlock and Annesley in the year 1719; that cause was tried in the Irish Court of Exchequer, between Esther Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, in which the latter obtained a decree, which on an appeal to the Irish House of Lords was reversed. From this sentence, Annesley appealed to the English House of Lords, who confirmed the judgment of the Irish Exchequer, and issued process to put him into possession of the litigated property. Esther Sherlock petitioned the Irish Lords against the usurped authority of England, and they having taken the opinion of the judges, resolved that they would support their honour, jurisdiction, and privileges, by giving effectual relief to the petitioner. Sherlock was put into possession by the sheriff of Kildare: an injunction issued from the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, pursuant to the decree of the English Lords, directing him to restore Annesley; the sheriff, (let his name be honoured!) Alexander Burrowes, refused obedience. He was protected in a contumacy which so nobly contrasts the wonted servility of the judges, by the Irish Lords, who addressed a powerful state paper to the Throne, recapitulating the rights of Ireland, her independent parliament, and peculiar jurisdiction. They went further, for they sent the Irish barons to jail; but the king hav-

ing the address of the Irish Lords laid before the English house, the latter re-affirmed their proceedings, and supplicated the throne to confer some mark of special favour on the servile judges, who, in relinquishing their own jurisdiction, had sacrificed the liberties of their country.

This contest produced the arbitrary piece of legislation, 6th George the First. It is well that we should be aware of the pretensions which were set at rest in '82, by the eloquence of Flood and Grattan, and by the arms of the Volunteers. The following are the clauses of this act which established the entire dependance of Ireland :—

“ Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland upon the Imperial Crown of this realm ; which will be of dangerous consequences to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the Lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend, the judgment and decrees of the courts of justice, in the kingdom of Ireland ; therefore, for the better securing of the dependancy of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependant upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably annexed and united thereunto ; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, hath had of right, and ought to have full power and authority to make laws, and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

“ And be it further enacted, and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction, to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the same kingdom ; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever.”

Such was the last of these statutes by which England, aided by the servility of Ireland, destroyed the legislative freedom of the Irish Parliament.

Grattan, addressing the House of Commons in 1780, said, “ Your ancestors who sat within these two walls, lost to Ireland her trade and liberty ; you by the assistance of the people, have recovered trade, you still owe the kingdom liberty ; she calls upon you to restore it.”

How trade and liberty were both acquired ; by what arms, and by what men ; by how much genius, courage, and fidelity a momentary glory was won for this country it will be our task to tell—we gladly leave to others the mournful recapitulation of the treasons, perfidies and weakness, which overthrew the constitution erected by the statesmen and warriors of 1782.

# THE HISTORY OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

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## CHAPTER I.

Swift—Wood's Halfpence—Division on the Supplies—Debate on the Surplus—Reign of George the Third—Lucas—Octennial Bill—Money Bill—Lord Townshend's Administration—Lord Harcourt's Administration—The American Question—Embargo on the Export of Irish Provisions—The American Revolution—The Volunteers.

THERE is little in the parliamentary details, contained in the Introduction, of which we have reason to be proud. England assumed at her pleasure to make laws to bind Ireland, which our legislature but too often subserviently adopted or timidly opposed. The right to a seat in either house was taken from the Catholics by an English act of William and Mary, and the Irish legislature—too bent on the fulfilment of that base and cruel bargain by which they sold the trade and freedom of their country for the privileges of persecution—did not in anywise resent this aggression on the constitutional liberties confided to their worthless hands. With patriotism—what purity could we look for in such an assembly of servile tyrants !

But the reign of George the First opened a new era, when we became acquainted with that school of patriots, who, however occasionally venal and corrupt, first boldly propounded those doctrines of constitutional freedom which, enforced by Flood and Grattan, and seconded by the arms of the Volunteers, were triumphant in the Bill of Rights. That the patriots of that day and hence to the era of constitutional freedom were often either corrupt or influenced by the meanest motives is undeniably true—there were but too many Henry Boyles amongst them—and the peerage of Ireland owes some titled names to the facility with which a compromise was struck between the ambition or necessities, and the principles of the patriots of the eighteenth century.

The first man, and if not the greatest, at least amongst the greatest of our countrymen, who struck fire from the heart of Ireland was a sour and banished divine, one who looked on an Irish home as an uncomfortable necessity, and who turned his eyes with mournful memory to the scenes of English refinement which he had unwillingly

lingly relinquished for his native "Beotian air."\* But Swift possessed qualities of no vulgar nature, and great learning. Wit and logic of the most trenchant power, with vast historical knowledge and great contemporaneous political information, combined to make him a formidable enemy to the schemes or violences of a government he hated. A truly formidable enemy he proved himself to be, judging him by that standard of criticism which English statesmen have so often supplied, namely the price set upon his head. Vainly, however, did government pursue him—vainly—for the principles he preached, with unrivalled manly eloquence, were immortal and diffusive. They reproduced themselves in every future period of our history—they were active in every struggle of our freedom—they nerved the arms of the national army—they inspired the hearts of the orators of the Commons, and when they triumphed in the Bill of Rights. Grattan paid the splendid tribute of a grateful nation to their benefactor, in that burst of unequalled power in which he apostrophises a liberated country :

"Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux, your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and bowing to her august presence, I say, 'Esto perpetua.'"

A deficiency was experienced in the coinage of the kingdom of Ireland, about the year 1722. There was a great dearth of copper currency; and the people complained of the inconvenience. They demanded the liberty to coin what they required, and were refused. England undertook to supply a remedy, which proved in the sequel to be like her other remedies, *very base, and very dear*. A patent was granted to one William Wood, "a mean, ordinary man," whose representations and requests weighed more in the mind of the British monarch, than those of the whole people of Ireland. Wood obtained a patent to coin £108,000 of copper, and thereby the power of flooding the country with a base currency was given thus unsparingly to a mean and scheming varlet, who had no interest †—except an English interest—in Ireland, namely, *to get as much out of the people as he could, and to give them as little in return*. But Swift saw the evil and was bent upon defeating it. He wrote and published a series of papers under the title of Drapier, unsurpassed in the effects they produced, and not equalled by the admirable letters of Malachi Malagrowthter.‡ The whole nation got up in a rage; addresses poured upon the Throne from the Privy Council, from gentlemen assembled at quarter sessions and assizes; the grand jury of Dublin presented as criminals, the men who offered the base coinage to the people. This was perhaps the first time, when Irishmen of all grades felt together, and acted together. The invasion of bad coin did what the invasion of the plundering chivalry of Normandy could not do—it united Ireland. It combined all the elements of political life against

\* See Pope's *Dunciad*—*passim*.

† Swift says his £108,000 was only worth £8000.

‡ These were letters written by Sir Walter Scott, to prevent some mischievous changes in the currency and some alterations in the banking laws, which the rage of uniformity prompted the English ministry to introduce into Scotland. They are excellent *Repeal documents*.

England, and these elements were held for a long time together, in a state of combination; and though afterwards often dissipated, a new and hitherto unfelt tendency to unite was created, and produced in time effects of great though not lasting brilliancy. The author of Drapier's letters, was, as might be expected, an object of persecution. There was no virtue too pure, no patriotism too generous, no genius too profound to protect an Irishman from the animosity of English government. But the people were true to their advocate, and would not accept the corrupt money of the oppressor, whether it came in the form of Wood's copper farthings, or from the Castle treasury. They next resorted to the printer, whom they prosecuted; but he, more fortunate than the victims of the Attorney-General usually are, found a jury incapable of doing the duty of government, and he was unanimously acquitted. The patent was revoked, with a recommendation from Primate Boulter, that the baffled copper coiner, as a choice object of English bounty, should obtain a retiring salary for his services and virtues. Observe the policy of government, setting a price on the head of Jonathan Swift—and conferring its bounties on William Wood! Molyneux's "Case of Ireland" was burned by the hands of the fit representative of English power, the hangman; Swift had a price set on his head; and at a later period Lucas, a man quite as zealous though not as able, was forced to fly his country; and his writings were prosecuted as libels for maintaining the freedom of the Irish constitution. The history of a government, may be well read in its rewards and punishments.

The defeat of Wood was the first triumph of the virtue of the country, and the first lesson of union taught to a divided nation. It was learned—but slowly and not as yet perfectly.

Next in order of time, of the important events in our parliamentary history, is the division on the supplies. The national debt was £200,000, and for the payment of the principal and interest, the supplies were voted from session to session. In the administration of the Duke of Dorset, and the reign of George the Second, a gross attempt was made to grant the supplies, set aside to pay the debt and the interest, to the king and his successors for ever. This proposition was violently resisted by the patriots, who asserted that it was unconstitutional to vote the sum for a longer period, than from session to session. The government, defeated in this attempt, sought to grant it for 21 years, and a warm debate ensued. Just as the division was about taking place, the ministerialists and patriots being nearly equal, Colonel Tottenham, an oppositionist, entered. He was dressed in boots, contrary to the etiquette of the house, which prescribed full dress. His vote gave the majority to the patriots, and the government was defeated by *Tottenham in his boots*. This became one of the toasts of patriotism, and was given in all the social meetings.

The accession of George Stone to the primacy and to the virtual government of Ireland, was felt for the time to be a great blow to the patriot party. Stone was an unscrupulous ecclesiastic, devoted to the maintenance of the English interest against the Irish people. He

stooped to the most polluted means to procure adherents—some have gone so far as to say that he converted his private residence into a trap baited with all the temptations of sense, with wine and easy beauty to catch the light youth of the metropolis. His personal demeanour was full of haughty dignity : his measures were arbitrary, and his power overweening. He was opposed in the exercise of the latter, by Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons : and their rivalries, though dignified on the part of Boyle with the name of patriotism, were no more than the struggles of two ambitious and powerful men for their own ends. Their personal contests were most violent on a subject of some importance, which renewed the ardour of the nation, and shed lustre on the debates of the Commons. The matter, though despatched summarily by an arbitrary act of the King, sunk deep in the hearts of a people, lately moved by the writings, the labours, and the sufferings of Lucas.\* It occurred in this way :—

In 1753, a surplus after the public service remained in the treasury. The Commons proceeded to bring in the heads of a bill to apply it to the payment of the national debt. The Duke of Dorset told them that the King “*consented*, and recommended them to apply it to the reduction of the debt.” *Consent* involved a principle, and the Commons took fire at the word. They sent the bill to England, taking no notice of the royal consent. The bill was transmitted with the *consent* introduced—the patriots were not strong enough to resist the change—but next year they rejected the bill, which had the same unconstitutional word. The King by his letters patent taking the money out of the treasury, cut the matter short. It was an act of simple despotism, and excited such rage amongst the people, that the Duke of Dorset, formerly a most popular viceroy, fled the country in abject fear. However, despotism without corruption was not considered as a fit exemplar of government—and the matter for the present terminated by a title and a pension conferred on the greatest patriot of the day ; Henry Boyle bore about the blushing honours of his public vir-

\* Dr. Lucas was a man of great energy and honesty, and had a good share of talent. He supported the principles of freedom, and if he wrote with less genius than others, he wrote with more courage ; for liberty was not in fashion in his days. He was born in 1713. His ancestors were farmers in Clare. He set up as an apothecary in Dublin ; but without relinquishing his avocations, it must be said that he loved his politics more than his drugs. He was elected a member of the Common Council, and forthwith set about agitating to establish the right of the whole corporate body to appoint aldermen. The board of aldermen had heretofore usurped that privilege. For his writings on this subject, and on the greater subject of free legislation, he was obliged to fly from Ireland. On his return, after some time, he was elected a member for the city of Dublin. His career was henceforward one of great activity and zealous patriotism. Hardy, in his life of Charlemont, endeavours to undervalue Lucas—but that biographer is as unsuccessful in his invectives as in his eulogiums. Lucas practised successfully as a physician, and attended Lord Charlemont. In his old age, and amidst too many infirmities, he was respected and esteemed. He was married three times, and had children each time. He died in 1771, having done much to advance the principles which the Volunteers established. He is thus described :—“The gravity and uncommon neatness of his dress ; his gray, venerable locks, blending with a pale but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention to no small degree.” (See Lives of Illustrious Irishmen—memoir of Charles Lucas.) He was a bigot, and would have excepted the Catholics from the freedom he sought to establish. But bigotry was then and is now the fault of even better men than the hot and hasty agitator of the council.

tue, emblazoned on the coronet of the Earl of Shannon. The primate did not fare so well, he was removed from the Privy Council. The rest of the patriots found comfortable retreats in various lucrative offices, and the most substantial compliments were paid to those who were noisiest in their patriotism and fiercest in their opposition.

A better spirit appeared on another question in 1757. Some strong resolutions of a committee appointed to inspect the public accounts were reported to the house,\* which determined that they, accompanied by their Speaker, should attend the Lord Lieutenant and should desire his Excellency to lay the resolutions before the King. He gave a quibbling answer, but a refusal—a division ensued on the question whether his reply was satisfactory; and the government was beaten by a majority of twenty-one. It was important to have cleared the way to the King, but more important to have chastised the insolence of his deputy. The spirit of the debates was animated and just—it breathed of legislative freedom; and though the doctrines were not yet ripened nor the courage of men sufficient to demand a Constitution, every successive triumph over the English interest—each victory over the insolence of power, prepared the nation for what was to be. The fruit was slowly but surely coming to its maturity: the seed which was planted by the learning of Molyneux, and tended by the genius of Swift, and intrepidity of Lucas, was soon to break the earth and ripen to the glory of the country. The nation waited but an example of successful patriotism; and all the subsequent events prepared the mind of Ireland for the lessons of freedom, which were before long to be borne across the Atlantic from a young and liberated world.

The reign of George the Third was one which, beyond all others, destructive to the glory and injurious to the *prestige* of England, in which her armies were captured, her flag dishonoured, and her policy made a sport and a scorn, was distinguished in the history of Ireland for struggles of lofty patriotism and national virtue. Yet the commencement of the reign was not auspicious. The country was torn by the agrarian outrages of the White Boys, Oak Boys, and the Hearts of Steel. The peasantry, labouring under every form of exaction, ground into the dust by the requisitions of the landlord and the visitations of the immemorially accursed agent of clerical right, the tithe proctor, rose in riot to do violence against a system they only knew by their miseries. However, the remedy was at hand—not to lessen rent or abolish tithe: the ready gibbet did its duty, and tranquillity was restored. Meanwhile, emigration drew away thousands from the North of Ireland; and the armies of America gained many a recruit through the active services of the driver and the tithe proctor.

One of the greatest measures which the patriots carried was the Octennial Bill. Lucas had worked with incessant energy in the service of his country; but disheartened with repeated failure, and having but little hope of effecting substantial constitutional freedom, he

\* Plowden's History, 8vo. vol. 2, p. 78; see also a useful book, edited by the late John Lawless, Belfast Politics, p. 38.

often sighed with the bitterness of a good man working in vain. But he worked.\* One object of his struggles often sought for, always eluding his grasp, was to limit the duration of parliament. The leases for life which men held in their seats rendered responsibility a delusion,—and the length to which their corrupt services might thus extend, made the wages of servility enormous. It was an evil of serious magnitude, and Lucas met it with boldness, and at length triumphed over it. The Octennial Bill was sent to England, and returned. It passed both houses and received the royal assent. The horses were taken from the Viceroy's carriage, and the people drew him home. Some doubts arose as to the benefits produced by this bill in the way designed by its framers; but no one doubted that the spirit discovered by the patriot party in the house produced effects at the time and somewhat later, which cannot be overstated or overvalued. It may, indeed, be doubted whether any measure, however beneficial in itself, could in those days of venality and oppression, with a constitution so full of blemishes, and a spirit of intolerance influencing the best and ablest men of the day, such as Lucas, for example, could be productive of any striking or permanent advantage. We must not be astonished then that the Octennial Bill was found incommensurate with the expectations of the patriots, who might have looked for the reasons of this and similar disappointments in their own venality, intolerance, fickleness, and shortcomings, if they had chosen to reflect on themselves and their motives. The real advantages are to be found in the principles propounded and the spirit displayed in the debates.

The next parliament after the passing of the Octennial Bill met on the 17th of October, 1769. Lord Townshend was Lord Lieutenant. The struggle between the English interest and the patriots was never more violent, and never more successful, on the part of the friends of the people, than in the parliament which Lord Townshend met. He came to Ireland the master of parliamentary tactics—a practised manager of contumacious senators.† No effects were too unlikely or too

\* In one of his late writings, there is an affecting confession of the weariness he felt of a life of labour and sacrifice spent in vain, (*Lives of Illustrious Irishmen*, vol. 5, Part I., p. 152,) in the following painful language:—"I have quitted a comfortable settlement in free country to embark in your service. I have attended constantly, closely, strictly 't my duty. I have broken my health, impaired my fortune, hurt my family, and lost a object dearer to me than life, by engaging with unweary care and painful assiduity in this sad, thankless, perilous service. All this might be tolerable, if I could find myself useful to you or my country. But the only benefit I can see results to those upon whom cannot look as friends of my country, bands of policemen and pensioners, whose merit enhanced, and whose number has been generally increased in proportion to the opposition given to the measures of government. I dare not neglect, much less desert, my station; but I wish by any lawful, honourable means, for my dismissal."—What if Lucas could have seen our modern perfection of police?

† A very witty warfare was carried on against Lord Townshend in a collection of letters on the affairs and history of Barataria, by which was intended Ireland. The letters of Posthumus and Pericles, and the dedication, were written by Henry Grattan, at the time of the publication a very young man. The principal papers, and all the history of Barataria, the latter being an account of Lord Townshend's administration, his protest, at his prorogation, were the composition of Sir Hercules Langrishe. Two of his witticisms are still remembered, as being, in fact, short essays on the politics of Ireland. Riding the Park with the Lord Lieutenant, his Excellency complained of his predecessors having left it so damp and marshy: Sir Hercules observed, "they were too much engaged *draining* the rest of the kingdom." Being asked where was the best and truest history of Ireland to be found? he answered, "In the continuation of *Rapin*."

remote for his genius to attempt—and he had his hands filled to overflowing with those splendid excuses for political profligacy which the patriots of that day appreciated but too well. But Lord Townshend, in making his bargains with recreant patriotism, had left open one question on which the Irish members appeared obstinate—the right to resist the originating of money bills in England.

The English Privy Council claimed this right to the destruction of the constitutional powers of the Irish Commons. The latter refused to pass a money bill, sent from England, and added the causes of the rejection, that it *had originated in the English Privy Council and not in the Irish Legislature*. Lord Townshend sought to place his protest on the books of the Commons; they would not permit so gross an encroachment on their privileges. The Lords, however, did not refuse and it was solemnly recorded in their books; but it does not seem to have done much for the English interest, to restore which to all its pristine vigor was the special mission of Townshend to Ireland. The Money Bill was again refused by ninety-four to seventy-one, and it was resolved that the *bill was rejected because it did not take its rise in the Irish Commons*. These affairs gave great umbrage in England; and the press there abounded with the most insulting representations of the transaction. *Woodfall's Public Advertiser* of the 9th of December, containing some offensive paragraphs, the Irish Commons remembered the precedents of England, and ordered the paper to be burned by the hangman.\* They further resolved to address the Lord Lieutenant, to inform them whether it was his intention to prorogue the house; and they carried the address by a majority of one hundred and six to seventy-three. The Secretary brought up to the house his reply, which was not gracious, and he put an end to his own discomfitures and the triumphs of the patriots by proroguing parliament with most indecent haste. This measure, whilst it enabled him to set more active agencies at work to diminish the force of the Opposition, and consolidate the English interest, “to do the King's business” more effectually than he had done it since his arrival, gave great cause of anger and disgust to the parliament and the people of Ireland. He dismissed the members in a short and offensive speech, which the house with great spirit refused to insert upon their journals. Upon the occasion of this prorogation, unexpected and unconstitutional, Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker, made a speech at the bar of the House

\* It was in the following words:—“Hibernian patriotism is a transcript of that filthy idol worshipped at the London Tavern: insolence, assumed from an opinion of impunity, usurps the place which boldness against real injuries ought to hold. The refusal of the late bill, because it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the constitution, and to the certain ruin of the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more suiting an army of White Boys, than the grave representatives of a nation. This is the most daring insult that has been offered to government. It must be counteracted with firmness, or else the state is ruined. Let the refractory house be dissolved; should the next copy their example, let it also be dissolved; and if the same spirit of seditious obstinacy should continue, I know no remedy but one, and it is extremely obvious. The Parliament of Great Britain is supreme over its conquests, as well as Colonies, and the service of the nation must not be left undone, on account of the factious obstinacy of a provincial assembly. Let our legislature, for they have an undoubted right, vote the Irish supplies; and so save a nation that their own obstinate representatives endeavour to ruin.”

of Lords, of which the journals take no notice whatsoever. Plowden, in his history, (vol. ii. page 110, of the small 8vo edition,) says that his speech was very spirited. It appears to have been peculiarly tame. It is filled with the usual servile common places; testifies the accustomed loyalty to his Majesty's person, and presents two bills of supply, voted during the last session. It is not singular that the House of Lords takes no notice of the speech.

Lord Harcourt succeeded Lord Townshend, and adopted his policy of consolidating *the English interest*. In the same degree that the feeling and organization of a national party were growing stronger, the exertions of the faction in the confidence of government became zealous to create an antagonist influence. However, Lord Harcourt had one merit, the proposition of an absentee tax of two shillings in the pound on the net results of all landed property, payable by all parties not residing in the country for six months. It is wonderful how old are most of the remedies which modern conservatism stigmatizes with the name of innovation. The proposal was, however, by the usual influence, rejected; but by a small majority. Concessions, too, were made in this administration to the Catholics. But its general tone and temper was tyrannic and profligate. The national debt was increased, and several pensions created to reward the usual services which England stood in need of here.

The American question was every day becoming serious; the last resort of war had nearly arrived, and it is strange enough that just at the time the colonies were breaking out into open insurrection, the strong analogies between the case of America and Ireland were pointed out by a furious English member, Mr. Rigby, who had been Secretary to the Duke of Bedford, and who held what was then a sinecure, the office of Master of the Rolls in Ireland. In a debate on certain commercial advantages about to be extended by the House of Commons in England to the Irish people, this Rigby said that "the Parliament of England had a right to tax Ireland in all cases whatsoever *as well as America.*"

The expression was fortunate; it suggested identity of grievance and identity of resistance. The analogy was entirely complete when the arms of America vindicated her freedom, and when the constitution of Ireland was restored by the Declaration of Right. In both cases there was rude aggression—in both cases the right assumed to dictate legislation—in both cases there was taxation without representation—in both cases the people flew to arms—in both cases they triumphed; but in the case of Ireland, the fruits of hard won victory was lost—but not for ever.

The season of war was in England made a season of commercial speculation and further plunder of Ireland. Under the plausible excuse of preventing this country from supplying America with provisions, an embargo was laid on their exportation. The real design of this ruinous measure, was to allow the British speculators to ply their trade without any rivalry. The poverty and the perils of the country at this period may be imagined from two propositions made by the government. One was to draw 4000 troops out of the establishment,

which were not to be paid by Ireland unless when employed in that country : another was to introduce 4000 foreign troops into the kingdom. These troops, as an inducement, were to be Protestants. But the Protestant Parliament of Ireland spurned the servile thought, and negatived the proposition of the minister by a large majority. They addressed the Lord Lieutenant, and assured him that they would render such a measure unnecessary by their own exertions. This was a great step towards liberty.

We have now arrived at the period of the American Revolution, the giant-birth of a new world of liberty.

The great questions involved in the dispute between England and her colonies, were also the subject of discussion between England and Ireland. It is not therefore at all surprising, that the development and progress of the Revolution were watched with great anxiety by the Irish people, and that they desired to view the triumph of their own principles, in the success of the American arms, and to read the final issue of their own efforts, in the establishment of a free government on the other side of the Atlantic. The example of America was contagious, and Ireland was not long without showing some of the symptoms of revolution.

But there was another cause at work with the Irish nation in exciting the spirit which was so wonderfully heightened by the Revolution of the colonies: namely, the poverty of the people. The misery of the peasants; the broken and decayed fortunes of the manufacturers; the general decline or ruin of trade and commerce were brought home without much difficulty to a long course of selfish legislation by the parliaments of England ; which the servile assemblies of Ireland had not the courage or the virtue to repudiate.

The latest act of English influence was before the nation in all its destructive effects. The embargo on the export of provisions, imposed by a proclamation of the Privy Council, had increased beyond measure the distresses of the people ; the manufacturers in Dublin were without employment ; the tables of the House groaned under the numerous petitions of the impoverished population ; and the many voices of woe spoke in the ears of a deaf and hardened government. The restrictions on commerce went hand in hand with a profligate pension list, sine-cure salaries, and wanton application of the public money, to the extravagance of Administration.

Lord Harcourt left Ireland in 1776, and Lord Buckinghamshire assumed the reins of government, at a period when the distresses of the people were at their height. Government had little money to spare to alleviate the urgent wants of an impoverished country—the liberalities of the Pension List, the enormous salaries to reward sycophancy and secret services, had drained the government purse, and taxed to the utmost the endurance of the people. The expenses in 1777, exceeded by £80,000 the revenue ; Ireland had been long a slave, she was now a bankrupt ; and had been brought to this state by the policy of England. The code of preventive law, which reduced the country to so impoverished a condition, having no excuse in the religious passions, and being the result of mere monopoly, presents even

more repugnant features than the Penal Laws. The latter were intended to destroy a creed; but the Commercial Restrictive Code had a much wider object—to ruin a people. The laws against the Catholic were, to the greatest degree, sanguinary; but those statutes which forbid industry, and made the gifts of God lie idly unproductive in the midst of an impoverished people, were more abundant in the spirit of despotic evil than the other. "The distresses of the kingdom," said Grattan, "are twofold: the poverty of the people, and the bankruptcy of the State. The first I will not ask the commissioners of the revenue to prove; but I will ask them upon oath, whether the restrictions on our trade are not the cause? Whether the prohibitions laid on by England against the exports of woollen cloths did not occasion it? Whether there were not too many inhabitants in this kingdom, though not half peopled?\*" Whether, if to those inhabitants the American continent were still open, would they not have emigrated thither, rather than pine in their native land the victims of English tyranny, rather than starve in it by an English act of parliament?"

The power of England had scarcely left the limits of the Pale, and bloodily extended under the banners of Elizabeth over the whole island, when the restrictive policy which afterwards wrought such numerous evils, was adopted towards the productive industry of the people. From the earliest acquaintance of England with this country, there had existed a certain degree of manufacturing skill among the natives. Even our first imported libeller, whilst he asserted that they possessed no manner of merchandize, nor practised mechanical arts, informs us of articles among them, whose use implies a considerable degree of skill and ingenuity, namely, cloth dresses, fringes, linen shirts, steeled military weapons, musical instruments, and other works of art, which could not have been produced by men described in the terms of wanton insult, which the venomous ecclesiastic has chosen to adopt.† It must indeed be confessed, that the details connected with the industrial employments of the ancient Irish are difficult, if not impossible to be obtained. The peaceful noises of industry are drowned in the wild clamours of war; and the mind of the student of our afflicting history is diverted from the pursuit of such information by the singular events recorded in its pages—the details of savage warfare against the Irish enemy, of furious vengeance on the foreign tyrant, of rigorous exclusion and of mean concession.‡ But we may infer from certain pieces of legislation in the reign of Eliza-

\* That is, having in view the restricted productive powers and the obstructed industry of the people. It is a well acknowledged truth, that Ireland is capable of sustaining a population inconceivably greater than the present.

† See the accounts of Gerald Barry, a priest who accompanied Henry to Ireland. He is known by his assumed name of Giraldus Cambrensis. He was a Welchman. See Moore's History, vol. 2, p. 343.

‡ For example, the repeal of the interdict against holding traffic or trade with the natives, in the reign of Henry the Fourth; and during the same reign the extension of charters of denization to the natives, and the payment of Black Rent to the Irish enemies who hemmed in the English within the miserable boundaries of the Pale. These concessions, exacted by fear, were despised by the bold warriors of the country; and the protection of the Black Rent was inadequate against the bitter memories and furious passions of the people.

beth, that the spirit of industry was not altogether laid, and that the people had to some extent become exporters; for, by an act passed whilst she held the sceptre of England,\* they were forbidden to send their cattle out of Ireland. But the attempt tended rather to develop than repress the industrial energies of the country. Deprived of this outlet of agricultural produce, the people devoted themselves to other and more lucrative employment; and if we are to give credit to a very able and distinguished writer,† Ireland, from the reign of James the First, to the rebellion of 1641, had grown considerably in industrial wealth and enterprise. Sir John Davies, who was however a flatterer, and considered all things in their bearing on the fame of his master, mentions the prosperous state of the country and its abundant revenue, which he attributes "to the encouragement given to the maritime towns and cities, as well to increase the trade of merchandise as to cherish mechanical arts." He quaintly adds, that "the strings of the Irish harp were all in tune."‡ We shall see that the harmony was speedily disturbed.

The genius of Strafford was devoted to the creation of manufactures, and the extension of commerce in Ireland, with a view of increasing the revenues of Charles the First. But Wentworth when he endeavoured to establish the linen trade, attempted to crush the woollen manufacture, for reasons which are but too characteristic of the policy of England. The woollen was considered the staple trade of England, and he supposed that its success in Ireland would interfere with the prosperity of his own country, and he therefore made exertions to destroy it. But whilst he succeeded in promoting the linen manufacture, by bringing over experienced Flemings,|| and laying out considerable sums of money of his own, he failed to depress the industry of the people, in working up the material so abundantly and admirably supplied by their own country. The linen trade prospered—the woollen trade did not decline.

Very animated descriptions are given of the prosperity of the state of manufactures and commerce at the time of the Revolution, by which the last Stuart lost a throne he was unfit to fill. Much of these eulogies may be exaggerated; but we may assume, to some extent, a wide foundation of truth in their representations, when we find that the jealous feeling of England stept in to ruin the rising prosperity of that trade in woollens which had survived the enmity of Lord Strafford. Hutchinson says:—

"After the restoration, from the time that the acts of settlement and explanation had been fully carried into execution, to the year 1688, Ireland made great advances, and continued for several years in a most prosperous condition.§ Lands were every where improved;

\* 8 Eliz. c. 3.

† Hutchinson's Commercial Restraints, p. 14. Henry Flood said of this work, that if there were but two copies of it extant, he would give one thousand guineas for one.

‡ Davies, pp. 1, 193.

|| The same means have been adopted in our own days in Ulster, and with great success.

§ Archbishop King, in his State of the Protestants of Ireland, pp. 52, 53, 445, 446. Lord Chief Justice Keating's Address to James the Second, and his Letter to Sir John Temple, *ibid.*

The prohibition of the exportation of our cattle to England, though a great, was but a

rents were doubled ; the kingdom abounded with money ; trade flourished to the envy of our neighbors ; cities increased exceedingly ; many places of the kingdom equalled the improvements of England ; the king's revenue increased proportionably to the advance of the kingdom, which was every day growing, and was *well established in plenty and wealth* ;\* manufactures were set on foot in divers parts ; the meanest inhabitants were at once enriched and civilized ; and this kingdom is then represented to be the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe."

Much of this may be written to produce a telling contrast to the coming evils. But whatever prosperity was then enjoyed, is probably attributed to the letter of Charles the Second permitting the free export of all commodities from Ireland, except those whose exportation was forbidden by the Colonial laws—and the exclusion, by the Lord Lieutenant and council, of linen and woollen manufactures from England and Scotland into Ireland. These measures are due to the patriotism of the Duke of Ormonde, in the reign of the second Charles.

It was reserved for the Deliverer to give a blow to the prosperity of Ireland, from which, except in the brief interval from '82 to '98, she never afterwards recovered. And this blow was given by the destruction of the woollen manufacture of the country. The jealousy of England was roused by the prosperous state of this great branch of national industry. Petitions were poured on William the Third, representing the evil effects of permitting the woollen trade of Ireland to increase, to the detriment of the staple of English production.† He of course graciously answered, and graciously complied with the prayers of petitions more degrading to the character of a nation, than any which ever yet embodied monstrous selfishness and unparalleled immorality. The bill to prevent the exportation of woollen manufacture, and to ruin the manufacture, passed the English Commons in 1697, but did not become law until 1699. It may well be asked, what were the people—what was the Parliament of Ireland doing in the interval ? The Irish Parliament had made its bargain ; and if reproached for permitting the ruin of Irish trade, would most probably have pleaded the unworthy set-off of a permission to persecute and plunder their Catholic countrymen.

The effects of this blow became soon visible. War is not so destructive as restricted industry. War destroys thousands, but does not permanently extirpate the principle of society which survives the bloody business of the field : but the law that forbids industry, and

temporary distress ; and in its consequences greatly promoted the general welfare of this country.

\* Lord Sydney's words in his speech from the throne, in 1692, from his own former knowledge of this country. Ir. Com. Journ. vol. 2, p. 577.

† We must not be surprised at this, when we find that at the period of the above occurrence, certain traders in Folkestone and Aldborough, complained of a serious grievance suffered by their industry, to the following extent :—They presented mournful petitions, stating that they suffered "from Ireland, by the Irish catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford !! and sending them to the Straits, and thereby forestalling and ruining petitioners' markets." These impudent fishermen had, as Hutchinson says, the *hard lot* of having motions which were made in their favour, rejected. See Commercial Restraints, p. 126.

paralyses enterprise, strikes a fatal blow at the very elements of which all social union is composed. The first obvious result of English legislation in this respect, was the self exile of twenty thousand manufacturers, who carried to France and other Continental countries the skill which had no market at home, and by the employment of their industrial knowledge in those countries, raised up a rival far more dangerous to English monopoly than Ireland had ever been. But it is not alone to this relinquishment of country, by impoverished and oppressed industry, that we must look for the emaciating effects of the policy of England. Addresses complaining of the miserable state of the country, extend over the entire reigns of Anne and George the First. The Irish Parliament was confined to addresses—for, whilst the records of their proceedings are but the cries of distress, we find no active legislation; whatever was their will, they had been stript of their power by the usurpations of England. In 1728 and 1729, there was a great scarcity of corn, and general apprehensions of famine; in 1731, there was a deficiency in the revenue. In 1740, for the second time in a few years, a scarcity of provisions was felt. The deaths of the people—those unrecorded and silent executions by famine and by misery, were frightfully increased beyond the usual proportion—manufacturers had no money to buy corn, and the farmers had no market for their produce—and we cannot better obtain a true estimate of the poverty of the nation, than by the following fact. The national debt of Ireland commenced in 1715; it was £16,106 11s. 0 1-2d., and increased in a short time to £371,312 12s. 2 1-2d.; and to pay this sum which modern extravagance would think a very mean item in the budget of a minister, occupied the nation forty years, and exhausted all the experiments of struggling bankruptcy, loans, and national mendicancy.

Rapidly and surely did poverty overspread our country. The monstrous spectacle was seen of a nation immersed in want, yet with a productive soil, a laborious peasantry, a mild climate; with all the means of wealth scattered around, and all the material of thriving manufacture, wooing the industry of the hungry and oppressed. Without his sin, the people suffered the punishment of the son of Jove; they were condemned to hunger and thirst in the midst of plenty; their outstretched hands were stayed by the mandate of English avarice, and their parched lips denied the cooling draft by the dreadful decree of foreign tyranny. "Whoever travels," said our illustrious countryman, "this island, and observes the face of nature, or the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed."\* English law, and Irish servility, had created the striking contrast between the bounty of Nature, and the poverty of Man.

The want of industry soon produced crime; and the outbreaking of the Whiteboys in 1762, was an indication of that great suffering which had been relieved out of the public purse, in the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford, in 1754, when £20,000 was voted to stay the

\* Swift's Proposal for the Use of Irish Manufacture; vol. 10, p. 12, Hawkesworth's edit.

steps of famine. The employment of the people was suggested as a remedy—but the gibbet, as more simple in its stern activity, was adopted. In 1771, the revenue was again deficient, and the bounties and public works were left unprovided for; and in the years 1772, 1773, and 1774, the linen trade, the only remaining manufacture that survived the wreck of general prosperity, shared the depression, and declined considerably. Yet, with all this want, with utter ruin approaching, the large sum of £1,401,925 was sent abroad to pay troops, from the year 1751 to 1778.

Thus at the period when the American contest attracted the earnest attention of Europe, but most peculiarly of the Irish people, the state of the country had reached a state of depression, between which and destruction there was scarcely one step to be passed.

There was one consolation to be derived from contemplating the results of the evil policy of government; those who distributed ruin were not without their share of general calamity. The embargo on Irish exports, consummated the destruction of the industry of the people, and the disasters of government. It was a measure adopted contrary to lofty and generous public opinion in both countries. Mr. Pery wrote to Sir R. Heron, the English secretary in Ireland, stating facts of a most marvellous description, and venturing upon predictions which would have been marvellous but that they were fully verified by time.\* Several Englishmen of principle, Lord Newhaven and the Marquis of Rockingham amongst the number, pressed on the Parliament of England the propriety of granting to the Irish nation the liberty of exporting their produce, with the extraordinary exception of their woollens, which formed a principal ingredient. Lord Weymouth, however, resisted so dangerous a concession to the *claims* of Ireland; and the only compromise which was effected, was an Export Bill, with the special exception of woollens and cottons. The Bristol merchants, who appear through the whole history of English avarice and tyranny, to have been influenced by a policy pre-eminently mean, selfish, and grasping—the genuine spirit of paltry trade—went so far as to heap insults on their representative, Edmund Burke, for supporting the measure.

The results of this barbarous system can be studied in the letters which passed between the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Weymouth. The former bitterly complains of the peculiar grievance under which the Irish government laboured—“disappointments in respect of money.” The pauper executive had got a loan of £20,000 from the banking-house of the Messrs. La Touche—it tried again, but the fountain was dry; the prudent money-dealers sent back word, that “it was not in their power, though very much in their inclination.” \*

Bearing these facts in mind, let us observe the progress of affairs in America. By the efforts of the Colonies of England, Irishmen were, to a considerable extent, guided and influenced; and from the

\* Grattan's Life, vol. 1, p. 336. The letters furnished by Mr. Grattan in the life of his father, form the best materials of the history of that day.

† Letter from the Earl of Buckingham to Lord Weymouth, dated from Dublin Castle, 17th May, 1778. Grattan's Life, vol. 1, p. 327.

analogies of the case of Ireland, and the case of America, they learned to appreciate more deeply, as well the infringements on their rights as the only substantial remedy of their grievances.

The English Parliament, disregarding those principles of the English Constitution which the Colonists had carried with them to the new world, had, in 1765, imposed on the American Colonies, without the consent of their local parliaments or councils, a stamp tax. Its payment was resisted; and the tyrannous measure denounced from New York to Georgia. In deference to the irritated patriotism of the Colonies, the stamp duty was repealed in the following year; but the English Parliament, who, whilst they fled from their own measure, were unwilling to relinquish the privileges of unconstitutional interference, in 1767, imposed six duties, to be collected in America. Five of these duties were repealed—the mixture of shrinking and interference was astonishing. But the duty on tea was left unrepealed; and this miserable tax, as Burke said, “shook the pillars of a Commercial Empire that circled the globe.”\*

America stood upon the ancient ways of the British Constitution; she denied that any right existed to tax her in a legislature where she was unrepresented; she appealed as well to the spirit of British law as to the precedent the British Minister himself had set in the repeal of the Stamp Duty. But stronger measures, and a more intelligible mode of reasoning, were adopted by the fiery spirits of New England. Disguised as Mohawk Indians, a crowd of bold young men seized upon three chests of duty-paying tea, and plunged the slavish luxury into the waters of the Bay of Boston. These were noble precedents to teach a nation how freedom may be won, and how deserved—they were not forgotten by the Volunteers.

The Americans had, up to 1775, avoided the last resort of war. But a rumour was circulated through the Colonies, that German mercenaries—the habitual vicarious butchers of England, who did her coarser work—were to be employed against their liberties, and they renounced an allegiance which could only be preserved by treason to their country. They planted the seed which ripened in the French Revolution; and the declaration of Independence by Congress, on July 6th, 1776, was the declaration of war against old and obsolete opinions, systems, and despots; it was the first great movement of the world’s mind towards popular power.

It was impossible that an excitable people, like the Irish, suffering under analogous wrongs, could have watched the throes of the great birth of freedom, without catching some of the noble fire which inflamed their distant brethren. And though “four thousand armed negotiators”† were voted by the House of Commons, “to cut the

\* Burke’s celebrated speech in 1774, on the American taxation.

† These were Flood’s words. In the outrageous philippic which Grattan pronounced against Flood, in 1783, he alluded to the vote of 4000 men to assist against the Colonies, in the following style:—“With regard to the liberties of America, which were inseparable from ours, I will suppose this gentleman to have been an enemy decided and unreserved; and that he voted against her liberty, and voted, moreover, for an address to send 4000 Irish troops to cut the throats of the Americans; that he called these butchers ‘armed negotiators,’ and stood with a metaphor in his mouth and a bribe in his pocket; a champion against the rights of America, the only hope of Ireland, and the only refuge of the liberties

throats of the Americans," the people shared little of the feeling of their government, and proudly pointed to the brigades of Irishmen, who fought in the ranks of freedom, as an expiation for the services of their mercenary countrymen. Much did they regret, then, the early ill-fortune of the Americans. The efforts of the Republicans were at first unsuccessful; defeat followed defeat; and the victories of England promised woe in every form to the conquered. Philadelphia surrendered; Washington was twice beaten with considerable loss; Howe scoured the banks of the Delaware; and it was not until far in the year 1777, that victory declared for the patriots. But when Victory came, she came with a liberal hand; an entire English army under Burgoyne was captured; Clinton retreated before the Americans; and to crown the successes of the army of liberty, France declared herself the ally of the republican government.

Singular contrast! England, the boasted friend of freedom, warring against the principles her own constitution taught—France, the despot of centuries, fighting in the ranks of liberty!

In this crisis, Ireland, deprived of all means of defence, saw her wide extent of coast left open to the predatory descents of the enemy. Her pauper executive and embarrassed legislature, looked on with nerveless amazement. Suggestions of all kinds pressed on their difficulties, and were rejected for inefficacy or danger. Militia bills, and independent companies—troops to be raised; and all this too, whilst they were seeking to borrow money from men who would not lend it; whilst they were forced to stop payment of pensions, salaries, grants, and to throw a world of profligate expectancy into despair. In this singular position of affairs, an application was made for assistance by Belfast. Its inhabitants had experience of a foreign descent,\* and though they had no reason to blush for their conduct on a former occasion, they considered it to be due to their safety, to demand from government the fulfilment of the duty of a government, the defence of the people. The answer they received was much in the spirit of La Touche's reply to their mendicant Lord Lieutenant, that though it was very much in the inclination of government, it was not in their power to give a single regiment.† Sixty troopers formed

of mankind." (Select Speeches of Grattan, Duffy's Edit., p. 104.) It is hard to blame Flood. He was joined in the vote by some men who afterwards most warmly sympathized in the triumph of America, and who effected much to imitate her example at home.

\* The first appearance of the spirit of Volunteering occurred in 1760, when Thurot and a small band of Frenchmen landed at Carrickfergus, and took the town. The people around Belfast flew to arms, and their appearance is thus described by Lord Charlemont:—"The appearance of the peasantry, who had thronged to its defence, many of whom were my own tenants, was singular and formidable. They were drawn up in regular bodies, each with his own chosen officers, and formed in martial array: some few with old firelocks, but the greater number armed with what is called in Scotland the Loughaber axe: a scythe fixed longitudinally to the end of a long pole—a desperate weapon, and which they would have made a desperate use of. Thousands were assembled in a small circuit; but these thousands were so thoroughly impressed with the necessity of regularity, that the town was perfectly undisturbed by tumult, by riot, or even by drunkenness." The expedition ended by the reembarkation of the greater part of the force; Flobert, and some few of the officers and men, were left behind, wounded.

† The following is the letter of Sir Richard Heron to Stewart Burke, Esq., Sovereign of Belfast:—

"Dublin Castle, August 14th, 1778."

"Sir—My Lord Lieutenant having received information that there is reason to apprehend

the available defence of Ireland, at a time when the armies of England were prisoners in the toils of America, and when the English Channel and Irish Sea were swept by the vessels of the enemy !

It was at this eventful period of public danger and government prostration, that a new spirit arose in Ireland and became embodied in a form of power and organization altogether unequalled in the history of modern times. What nobler scene can the eyes of man behold than a nation going forth to war ? From the earliest days, when the chosen people, armed with the direct sanctions of heaven and fired with their manifold wrongs, formed themselves into that great army which carried the standard of God through the desert and into the fields of Canaan flowing with milk and honey, to the modern eras of glorious war when Greece and Rome planted the ensigns of their victory on the shattered remnants of eastern empire ; from the days when Cæsar on the fields of Gaul laid the foundation of his imperial power, to that time when a greater than Cæsar on the same fields erected a more glorious fame, mankind has viewed with wondering eyes the mighty forms and terrible effects of war.\* But more glorious far than aggressive triumph —more noble than any unprovoked assault on liberty or adverse empire is the union of free men to defend their native land. Whether it teem with the voluptuous beauty of Greece or Italy, and be warmed with an unclouded sun, or present the more rugged aspect of those stern hills where Circassia still maintains her ancient freedom, the valour that unbought goes forth for its protection is the finest form of human virtue. It is, indeed, the cheap defence of nations. Now, then, in our country—whose fertile plains had been for ages the ensanguined scenes of tyranny and internecine war—for the first time a people sprung to life, armed, disciplined, united, whose lofty mission was to save a country, and create a state. How trade was freed, and how a constitution grew upon the ruins of usurpation ; it is our duty to detail in the annals of the few bright years, during which the Volunteers of Ireland formed the national army of their country. Let the people for whom they are specially designed read these matters—and let them also read the account, instructive but ignominious, of their lost liberties and forfeited honour. They will learn to cherish the virtues by which freedom was acquired—and to avoid the intestine divisions,

hend that three or four privateers in company, may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom ; by his Excellency's command, I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants of Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

"The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsale, his Excellency can at present send no further military aid to Belfast, *than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids*, and his Excellency desires you will acquaint me by express, whether a troop or two of horse can be properly accommodated in Belfast, so long as it may be proper to continue them in that town, in addition to the two troops now there.

"I have, &c., RICHARD HERON."

This is but one of many communications which passed at the time between the government and the authorities of Belfast. In most of them, the former express their satisfaction at the spirit of the Volunteer companies then formed or about to be formed ; with no sincerity, as we shall see presently.

\* "As long as mankind shall continue to bestow more liberal applause on their destroyers than on their benefactors, the thirst of military glory will ever be the vice of the most exalted characters."—Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. 1, p. 9.

the want of high purpose, and the absence of self-reliance by which a corrupt body of patricians were allowed to sell their country to foreign despotism.\*

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## CHAPTER II.

The Volunteers—Discouragement given to their body by the Government—Return of Soldiers from America—Disciplining the Volunteers—Non-Importation Agreements—Owen Roe O'Neill's Letters—Policy of Exclusive Dealing—Reviews of the Volunteers—Lord Charlemont appointed Commander-in-Chief—Free Trade.

THE people of Belfast had anticipated the answer of the secretary. They had seen the vices, and expected the punishment of a senseless, profligate, and extravagant government. Remembering what they and their fathers had done when a foreign enemy had formerly appeared at their gates, they assembled together for the defence of the country, and in the early part of the year 1779 the townsmen of Belfast entered into armed associations for defence against the foreign enemy.†

It was a scene of wild and noble excitement. Men rushed towards a common object, with a spirit of generous zeal—crowds thronged the public places of resort anxious and resolved—in every assembly of the people the topic was the defence of the country—and those who twenty years before had obeyed a similar summons of public danger, appealed to the memory of their own resistance and a captured enemy. But it was not in words, or looks, or boasts, the people dealt; they formed themselves into military companies and assumed a posture of defence; and these companies, thus hastily organized, were the armed embryo of the Irish Volunteers.‡

There was no difficulty in gaining recruits for the service. They flocked to the new standard in great numbers and with alacrity. The spirit of the people was military, and they saw in this “loyal institution”|| the means of gratifying an hereditary passion for arms. Whether any of the far-seeing amongst them—looking beyond the immediate and removeable danger of a French invasion—recognised in the armed organization of the people, headed and officered by the leading men and guided by the leading minds of Ireland, the noble

\* The History of the Rebellion and the Union will form a portion of this series.

† Historical Collections relative to the Town of Belfast, published in 1817, in Belfast, p. 138.

‡ There were a great number of independent companies, which cannot properly be called Volunteers in the sense of the word as used in this narrative. These independent corps were raised to meet the recurring threats of invasion, and other dangers of different kinds; and the oldest regiment of the kind of which I have discovered any trace, was the Kilkenny Rangers, a cavalry corps, formed in 1777, at first for the local protection of the county against Rapparees and Tories, and continued on the principle of those afterwards incorporated. They came up to Dublin to attend some of the great reviews of the Volunteers: their uniform was green and white.

|| This epithet occurs, singular to say, in one of the basest state papers that was ever issued by a government, namely, the Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the Irish House of Lords, 1798.

agent of a great Revolution, is a matter of which we have now no means of judging. But the government of the day, with keener instincts, whilst they concealed their fears under the mask of gratitude for the services of the people, trembled at the possible action of an armed nation, even whilst the Volunteers counted but a few companies. Loyal as undoubtedly the institution was—loyal even to the prejudices which government must have wished to foster, for one of their earliest celebrations was the Battle of the Boyne\*—the English interest trembled at what to their appalled imagination seemed to be the infancy of revolution. Thus, whilst the wretched government, unable to discharge its functions, and resigning the defence of the country to the virtue and valour of her children, looked on in angry amazement at the daily increasing numbers of the Volunteers, their training into discipline, their martial array and military celebrations, the great officers of the Executive were planning how best they might stifle in its birth the warlike spirit of the people.

[The system of volunteering spread quickly. The few companies which in the beginning of the year 1779 had been formed in Belfast, soon saw their example followed throughout the kingdom.] For in May of that year we find, by a letter of Lord Buckinghamshire to Lord Weymouth—a document instructively illustrating the fears, and baseness, and hypocrisy of government—that companies of Volunteers were forming themselves through the whole island.—

“Upon receiving official intimation that the enemy meditated an attack upon the northern parts of Ireland, the inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus, *as government could not immediately afford a greater force for their protection than about sixty troopers*, armed themselves, and by degrees formed themselves into two or three companies; the spirit diffused itself into different parts of the kingdom, and the numbers became considerable, but in no degree to the amount represented. *Discouragement has however been given on my part as far as might be without offence*, at a crisis when the arm and good will of every individual might have been wanting† for the defence of the state.”‡ Lord Buckinghamshire in another part of the same letter, attributes the rapid increase in the ranks of the Volunteers, to an idea that was entertained amongst the people that their numbers would conduce to the attainment of political advantages for their country.

All motives conduced to the same end, and that end—the armed organization of Ireland—was rapidly approaching. The fire of the people and their anxiety to enter the ranks of the national army may be judged from the fact, that in September, 1779, but a very short while after the original institution, the following was the return of the Volunteers|| in the counties of Antrim and Down, and in and near Coleraine :

\* “July 1, 1779. Our three Volunteer companies paraded in their uniform, with *orange cockades*, and fired three volleys with their usual steadiness and regularity, in commemoration of the Battle of the Boyne.”—Historical Collections relative to Belfast, p. 143.

† At a time when a pauper government was unable to furnish the country with a hundred men to defend her coasts.

‡ Grattan’s Life, vol. 1, p. 348.

|| See Appendix.

Total in the county of Down, . . . .	2,241
Total in the county of Antrim, : : :	1,474
In and near Coleraine . . . .	210
	3,925

Of these the great majority were fully equipped and armed—and glittered in the gay uniform of the Volunteers.\* Some few companies were, however, unarmed even up to a later period, until the pressure on government compelled them to distribute the arms, intended for the militia, to worthier hands.

The urgency of defence against a foreign foe soon ceased to be felt. The attitude assumed by the people deterred the enemy from approaching the shores of Ireland. They saw there a people embodied and in arms; officered by the elected gentlemen and leading men of the country; and fired by a spirit it would not be safe to tempt; and the hopes of making any impression by an Irish invasion were laid aside for the time.

But other duties awaited the Volunteers. They stood now upon an eminence, to which prudence and courage had raised them, and from which they were enabled to look steadily in the face the wants of their country and their own great responsibilities. Springing suddenly as they did, as though it were from the planted teeth of the serpent, they had grown in a moment to the stature of a national army, whilst the ancient oppressor of their country was immersed in difficulty and subdued by defeat, they saw the reins of power almost falling from the nerveless grasp of the Irish government, and they felt that it was indeed for them a time of grave responsibility and singular temptation.

But as their organization spread—as district after district, and county after county sent forth its armed contingent to the standard of the Volunteers, they adopted a system which, whilst it gave dignity to their body, was a pledge that no measure of insurrectionary violence or agrarian tumult would be supported by the Army of the People. They were the offspring of the country; they had taken up arms to

\* The present writer has had no more difficult branch of his subject, than that connected with the uniforms of the Volunteers. There are manuscripts, it is said, in some private libraries of Dublin, in which details are given on the subject of Volunteer costume, but from the want of catalogues and classified arrangement, it was impossible to reach them; and the newspapers and books of the day are singularly deficient in details on this, or, it may be added, on any subject connected with the Volunteer organization.

The uniform of the Lawyers' corps was scarlet and blue, their motto, "*Pro aris et fo-  
sis*"; the Attorneys' regiment of Volunteers was scarlet and Pomona green; a corps called the Irish Brigade, and composed principally of Catholics, (after the increasing liberality of the day had permitted them to become Volunteers,) wore scarlet and white; other regiments of Irish Brigades wore scarlet faced with green, and their motto was "*Vox populi  
suprema lex est*"; the Goldsmiths' corps, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, wore blue, faced with scarlet and a professional profusion of gold lace. Altogether, it may be said, that there was, either in their mottoes or in their uniform, very little affectation of nationality.

In the Appendix I have collected whatever lists of the Volunteers were available. It is to be remarked that several of the corps are represented as having been embodied in 1777; but they were for the most part only incorporated for a local or occasional purpose, without any view to general organization. All these corps afterwards adopted the principles of the national army, and became part of its strength.

preserve inviolate from the foot of foreign foes their native soil; they stood commissioned, not by royal grant, or word, or wish, but by the nation's love and pride; they felt the glory of their mission, and they upheld it well. Had they adopted the precedents of their oppressor, and used their opportunities as she did hers, the empire of Great Britain had ceased in Ireland; and judging them now by the light of our fatal experiences, men have often thought they were forbearing over much, and had treated England with too generous a regard. But this is not fair to the memory of the great and noble spirits of that day. Armed with a sudden overwhelming power, they limited their desires within the constitution; they thought—how wrong they were is part of our experience—that having achieved for Ireland free institutions, and an unrestricted trade, their country might participate the glories of Imperial power without the sacrifice of an independent individuality. To effect these objects—to strike the fetters off the limbs of trade and make their legislature omnipotent at home, became the ruling principles of the Volunteers. They were not levellers, and eschewed all anarchy. Thus, as we have said, they adopted a system of officering their army which gave a pledge that no anarchic or republican idea had taken possession of their thoughts. Reversing the usual plans, the old and servile form of military organization, the soldiers of the national militia elected their own commanders. Whom did they choose? Whom did this democratic army select to rule their councils and direct their power?—Not the low ambitious—not the village vulgar brawler—but the men, who by large possessions, lofty character, and better still by virtue and by genius, had given to their names a larger patent than nobility. Flood and Grattan, Charlemont and Leinster—the chosen men in all the liberal professions—the orators who led the patriot party in the Commons—the good, the high, the noble; these were the officers who held unpurchased honours in the Volunteers. We may well look back, with mournful pride, through the horrid chaos where rebellion and national ruin rule the murky night, to this one hour of glory—of power uncorrupted, and opportunities unabused.

The organization of the Volunteers spread like lightning through the land. The Protestants of the country thronged the ranks; leading noblemen and gentlemen assumed command.—But there was one great section of the people, which at this time of peril from foreign foe, and weakness of the government, might have been well excused if they had stood aloof in cold indifference or moody anger. What had the Catholics to hope from any change? What to them was change of dynasty or change of system? In every benefit, in every grace, they stood excepted. They had felt the iron of oppression in their souls—they had suffered for their loyalty as for their treasons. Deprived of property, and plunged in darkest ignorance, despoiled of rank, and power, and privilege, and land, little was left for that unhappy people in their own country, but the pursuits of paltriest trade or meanest usury. But they waxed great and numerous, and strong in persecution; the masters trembled at the number of their slaves. Yet, tortured as they had been during centuries of wrong—debased by

ignorance, and beset by foes, it was not in the hour of national uprising that this suffering, but gallant race, remembered their hard fate, or dreamed of vengeance. Far different feelings and nobler passions stirred their souls. They looked with pride upon the glorious pageant of their armed countrymen ; they saw in the great movement a bright though distant hope, that, when the objects of the Volunteers should have been achieved, their rights so long withheld would be awarded to their great endurance, and the wrongs so long and ruthlessly inflicted, would cease for ever. There is in the dark records of the depravity of the government of that day, a singular document, which, while it attests the patriotism and zeal of the Catholics, illustrates the base and vile spirit which repelled their loyalty and refused their aid. The Earl of Tyrone wrote to one of the Beresfords, a member of a grasping patrician family which had long ruled the country,\* that the Catholics in their zeal were full of forming themselves into Independent Companies, and had actually begun their organization : but that, seeing the variety of consequences which would attend such an event, he had found it his duty to stop their movement ! Miserable government—unable to discharge its first duty of defence, and trembling to depute them to the noble and forgiving spirit of a gallant people !—The Catholics of Limerick, forbidden the use of arms, subscribed and made a present of £800 to the treasury of the Volunteers.

The people assembled, in every barony and county, and adopted enthusiastic resolutions to raise Volunteer companies. The movement spread from the North, which had the honour of its birth, to the South and East, and in the West, more habitually apathetic, the fire of public spirit shone brightly out. In Mayo, the high sheriff convened the county ; money was subscribed ; several companies were raised, and the command was given to Lord Altamont. In Kilkenny five hundred stand of arms were distributed amongst the Volunteers ;† several districts in the King's County raised corps, varying from three to five hundred men ; Lord Charlemont took the command of companies raised in Armagh ; and in the metropolis of Ireland numerous regiments were formed by the different professions, and the command was given to the representative of the Geraldines. They assumed regimental uniforms, of which the prevailing colours were green, blue, white, and scarlet. From the variety of the costumes of the Volunteers, their appearance in the field was gay and brilliant. Nor was it merely by the glittering red and white, or the more national green, that the hearts of the thousands who looked upon the army of the people were delighted, and their confidence strengthened in the security of their homes from foreign invasion. In a short while from their taking up the pursuits of war, their ranks presented the steady front and firm port of discipline ; the raw levies of enthusiasm, trained by experienced men, assumed the aspect of resistless legions ; and the country, betrayed by her government, looked with confidence on her armed sons led to the field by their statesmen, orators, and nobles. Not so, as we have said, did the English interest view this great

\* May 28, 1779. Grattan's Life, p. 352.

† Grattan's Life, vol. 1, p. 343.

uprising. To the adherents of that interest it bore all the appearances of revolution; it lured upon their terrors like a threatening portant big with untold dangers; they caballed against the movement in secret; they would have whispered it away; their officials, whilst they assumed a demeanour of politeness, used all their endeavours to discourage the embodying of the people. But it was in vain to attempt to stem the torrent. The military spirit of the nation had taken fire; they rushed to the new standards from every quarter; and when discipline was added to numbers and to spirit, they grew too strong and irresistible for the cabals of the minister. Yet it will surprise most readers to learn that even in May, 1779, the Lord Lieutenant gravely canvassed the possibility of seizing their arms or preventing them from assembling, by the use of military force.\* He says, “the seizing of their arms would have been a violent expedient, and the preventing them from assembling without a military force impracticable; for, when the civil magistrate will rarely attempt to seize an offender suspected of the most enormous crimes, and when convicted, convey him to the place of execution without soldiers: nay, when in many instances persons cannot be put into possession of their property, nor being possessed, maintain it without such assistance—there is little presumption in asserting, that, unless bodies of troops had been universally dispersed, nothing could have been done to effect this. My accounts state the number of corps as not exceeding eight thousand men, some without arms, and in the whole very few who are liable to a suspicion of disaffection.”

The reasoning was cogent and curious; but it is not a little strange to find an elaborate essay on felony and dispossession dragged into a despatch communicating to the government such evidences of patriotism and loyalty. However, danger from abroad, and spirit at home soon silenced the government; and they were compelled by strong pressure to supply with arms the very men whom they would have dispersed by military force, if the requisition of their tyranny abroad, and their extravagance and profligacy in Ireland had left them a single regiment.

Meanwhile the numbers of the Volunteers were increasing, and their public spirit and loyalty became the subject of panegyric even in the legislature of England. The head of the ancient Norman family of Clanricarde took the command of the gentlemen and tenantry of Galway. They were called the Clanricarde Volunteers, and proposed to act as cavalry. The letter of their colonel to the Lord Lieutenant is an amusing proof of his eloquence and their spirit. It informs his Excellency that should the French or any other enemy presume to land or invade the kingdom, Lord Clanricarde engages on the shortest notice that he will head a thousand men amongst his friends and tenants who will “swim in their own blood in defence of his majesty and their native country.” The Lord Lieutenant answered in general terms, not at all meeting the spirit of the gallant officer. But the blood of the De Burghs was on fire, and he pinned the diplomatist to an

\* Letter of Lord Lieutenant to Lord Weymouth, May, 24, 1779.

acceptance or refusal. He writes to the Lord Lieutenant, on the 31st May, 1779, thus:—

"Loughrea, May 31, 1779.

"**MY LORD**—I am just honoured with your commands the 28th of May. From the knowledge I have of his Majesty's goodness, I have the greatest reason to hope that he is fully persuaded of my attachment to his person and family; but, my Lord, as I act in a public capacity in my present application to your Excellency, I beg leave to know, whether you are pleased to accept of the services of the Clanricarde Volunteers in the defence of this country, should any foreign power invade it. I will, in that case, engage to bring a most respectable body of gentlemen, and a powerful number of men, into the field.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CLANRICARDE."

The reply was in the usual tone adopted by the English interest—that associations of numbers of armed men formed under their own regulations in different parts of the kingdom, could not be justified by law, nor would it be proper for his Excellency to give any encouragement or sanction to them. At the same time, by a letter written of nearly the same date, he informs the English minister that the idea of their numbers conduced to the attainment of political advantages had wonderfully swelled the Volunteer ranks; "a reason which," he added with great gravity, "must be considered as alarming, since the expediency of any measure for political advantages to Ireland is a sufficient consideration to secure to that country the full support of government."

It was at this period that numbers of Irishmen who had been engaged in the American war returned to their country. They had fought against liberty—they had wrestled with its power—but they had caught the spirit they could not destroy, and from having been the mercenary soldiers of a tyrant, they became the most eloquent preachers of the doctrines of liberty, and the most practical agents for teaching men how she was best wooed and won. Covered with wounds, they had not a scar that did not preach freedom—maimed, disabled, and shattered in the cause of oppression, they came back to their country filled with the experiences of battle, and stories of successful valour. They told their countrymen, then fully awakened to a sense of their wrongs, how the native courage of the colonists, learning discipline by defeat, had triumphed over the arms and the glory of England; how the heroes and the armies of the greatest empire in the world had been led captive by the valour of the people—they told them, in a word, how liberty was achieved in a new world. Greedily did the Irish nation devour what appealed so warmly to their ancient love of freedom—the conversation of their veteran countrymen was sought for with eagerness and listened to with emulative enthusiasm. They sighed to do at home what the wounds and words of their friends had told them were so well done abroad. But they were not satisfied with the tales of war—they asked instruction in the use of arms and the discipline of the field. And gladly did the old soldier communicate to the young men what he had perfected by his own disastrous experience—he who had wielded the arms of oppression now taught a better race how to use those of freedom. It was a noble retribution to the spirit of injured liberty. Thus, amongst other means, did the Volunteers obtain scientific instruction in warlike exercises and discipline.

Mr. Grattan, in his life of his father, states that Mr. Broome, a particular friend and intimate of that great man, gave the most valuable assistance in training and disciplining the cavalry. Mr. Broome was in the dragoons, and his instructions were very valuable; and obtained the thanks of the Volunteers. But they left no means unadopted to render their institution something more than a gaudy national pageant; and they succeeded in acquiring a perfection of discipline which received the approbation of the best judges of military tactics of the day, as the spirit which bound them together was applauded even by such a man as Lord Camden.\*

The Irish people felt that if ever a blow for free trade were to be struck—if the restrictions which had destroyed their trade and made beggars of their manufacturers were ever to be removed, the time had now come. They beheld in every barony and in every county the first men in estate, in rank, in acquirement, at the head of hundreds of armed and disciplined men; ruled not by the usual rules of discipline, but being a compact military democracy in which the soldiers elected, and if needs were, cashiered their officers; and they observed that this striking politico-military phenomenon existed cotemporaneously with a government as weak as it was vicious, whose inclination to despotism and corruption was only restricted by their imbecility and their bankruptcy. On the other hand, they saw their countrymen reduced from want of trade and manufactures to the lowest pitch of misery: they saw that the spirit of English trade was the most powerful enemy of Ireland, and that the legislature of England was influenced altogether by that spirit; they were maddened by the reflection that the provision trade—the manufacture of meat—had been taken from them by the embargo and transferred either to English speculators or to the enterprise of the German towns.† Reflecting thus on the means and the motives for action, they determined on adopting a bold measure to retrieve the fortunes of their country, and striking the enemy where he was most vulnerable in his selfish interests. The people resolved on adopting an agreement not to consume the exports of England, and to enter into associations for the exclusive use of Irish manufacture.

\* When he accompanied Lord Charlemont to the North, on his going to review the Volunteer forces at Belfast, Lord Camden said: "Keep it up—keep it up. England will never forgive you." She never did.

† "On the other hand, the Irish beheld, with grief and dismay, that the northern parts of Germany, and other countries adjoining to the Baltic, were with great avidity preparing to grasp at that beneficial trade, which was slipping out of their hands. They had already begun the experiment; were sparing no industry or expense in procuring proper salt for the purpose, and proper persons for instructing them in the art of curing and packing their beef, and had even sent some considerable quantities of it to the French market. Although these samples could not come in any degree of competition with the Irish beef, in point of goodness, yet the attempt, or even the idea, was exceedingly alarming. The vast profits which the supply would afford, through the lowness of rents, and the cheapness of cattle in those countries, would induce great improvements in the articles of feeding and curing; and there are few ignorant that a branch of trade once lost or transferred, is scarcely ever recoverable. To render all these circumstances of loss and apprehension the more vexatious and grievous, it was universally said in that country, and not without some considerable concurrence both of words and opinions in this, that the source of all these mischiefs was nothing more or less than a job, which owed its creation, or at least its continuance, merely to the design of throwing immense fortunes into the hands of some favourite contractors. Nor was it of any avail, how unfounded this opinion might possibly

It was not a question of sordid political economy. They did not wait to discuss the doctrines of the economist, or to test their resolves by the nice calculations of philosophy. They had heard of, or had seen, their own commerce burthened with restrictions by the selfishness and base dishonesty of England—they had seen a few trading towns in England grow great and flourishing at their expense ; they had seen the products of their enterprise and industry refused admission to the markets of Great Britain and her colonies ; they had endured the miseries of a poverty not due to their want of skill, or capital, or energy, but produced by the barbarous legislation of their oppressor ; and they rightly judged that the best and wisest philosophy was to retaliate by excluding, as far as the spirit of their country would admit, the manufactures which had grown up on the ruin of their own, and proscribing the products of an industry which had flourished by their decay.

An agreement not to use the products of England in this country, is one that can never be adopted with any chance of success, except on the eve of a grand revolution, when the soul of the nation is stirred with great thoughts and capable of a noble abstinence. A country able to adopt, and virtuous enough to persist in such a resolution, is secure of effecting any other measure which may be needful for her happiness. The time at which the Irish people thought proper to carry on the compact of non-consumption, was one peculiarly well chosen. The Volunteers were in arms, and had set the example of using Irish manufactures, by clothing their regiments and troops in materials of home production. And, better still, the resolutions of their meetings had sanctioned the principle, and promised the assistance of the national army, to work out its details to the utmost of their power. Associations for the use of Irish manufacture sprung up in every part of the country ; the Volunteers appeared at their reviews and military gatherings clothed in dress of native manufacture ; the ladies of the country caught the spirit of the day, and gave new force to the arguments of patriotism, by clothing themselves in the fine textures which the skill of their countrymen knew so well how to fabricate.

The press of Ireland seconded this movement with great power. It teemed with productions, many of them from men of great learning and acquirements, recommending the non-consumption of English goods. The lessons and teaching of the Drapier were revived, and repeated from mouth to mouth, and by every pen. Mr. Robert Johnson, who was afterwards on the Bench, and other men of the same class, published letters to this effect. But one of the most spirited publications of the day, and one of the ablest pieces of reasoning and declamation that ever appeared in the revolutionary literature of any country, was a collection of Essays by Pollock.\* They were published under the name of Owen Roe O'Neill. He looked on the grievances

be: the effect was the same as if it had been established by the firmest authority."—Dodd's Annual Register, vol. 22, p. 124.

It has been said that the historical portion of the Annual Register was written by Edmund Burke.

\* These essays or letters will be republished. They may serve another turn yet. They are now very scarce.

of Ireland, like a philosopher and a patriot, and canvassed with singular ability, the three measures which were proposed by various parties as remedies. These were an union with England—non-consumption associations—and legislative freedom. His prophecies, with regard to the first, are singular, and though not exactly germane to the immediate subject, cannot be much out of place in a book treating of the legislative independence of Ireland :—

“ The first leading and comprehensive observation upon a union, one indeed that makes all others appear almost unnecessary, is that by it we lose our own legislative assembly, and take the readiest means of destroying the only one that shall remain of the empire. Already, God knows, there is little occasion to add to the corruption of the British Parliament ! Yet what must we expect, if we pour into it such another ‘ uniform and potent body of corruption ’ as has flowed from *Scotch representatives* ! ”

“ We have now some slender ties upon the fears, at least, of our parliament. We should then have none. Our present absentees, ‘ men as dependant on the Minister, as they are independant of the people,’ are not more likely to be incorruptible than the deputies of Scotland. ‘ Upon the ruins of (what *remains* to us of) national consequence and public sentiment, we should have a few individuals, insignificant in England, engrossing the powers of Ireland, jobbing away her interest, never residing with her people, and, of course, ignorant of her condition, and unawed by her resentment.’ \* \* \*

“ That no representation could essentially serve *Ireland*, may be collected from this ; that her number of deputies being necessarily small in proportion to those of England, even if not corrupted, they would be overpowered, in every question between the two nations. \*\*

“ The tyranny which England now indulges against Ireland, contrary to every principle of the constitution, she would then display in *apparent* conformity to it. Even a union could not make her feel for Ireland as she does for her own most insignificant village. \* \* \*

“ We are by nature her rival, and, in some respects, I may even say, her superior. Our *quota* or proportion of taxes must be *fixed*. Can any man then be so bigotted to the idea that political *generosity* exists, and exists in *England*, as to suppose she would encourage her rival much beyond what would enable her to pay that *quota* of taxes ? But, allowing England to be generous to us, at present, must she not soon hate us with as much cordiality and as much justice, as she now does Scotland ? The conduct of the nation and her representatives would justify it.—Nations will not return *good for evil*, however usual that may be with individuals !—In this situation, is there a noble scheme in agitation for the improvement of manufactures, the opening of communications between different parts of this kingdom, the convenience or extension of trade ?—Is an inland canal to be cut, a colliery to be promoted, a quay, a mole, or dock to be built—is it wished to improve or put in a state of defence any of those harbours which open to the world, and have capacity to receive it ?—Immediately a host of petitions are opposed—or the Minister is threatened with an insurrection—perhaps raised by *himself*—the scheme drops ;—or it is

procured by means the most disgraceful or most ruinous. Jobbing is seldom gratuitous—compliments must be returned. The empire suffers. They suffer who receive justice as a *favour*. At any rate their spirit is destroyed, for they feel their dependance, and their impotence."

\* \* \* \* \*

Casting aside all hopes from the Union, Owen Roe O'Neill next discusses the utility of the commercial associations. Fully approving of the spirit of patriotism which dictated the non-consumption agreements, he placed little reliance on their perfect efficiency, so long as the power of an English parliament, over Ireland, should continue. But at the same time that the argument of Pollock was directed to the necessity of a Bill of Rights, the eloquence of his declamation, and the power of his reasoning, had a material influence on the public mind, and promoted largely the other measures whose efficacy he seemed to doubt. He revived the constitutional doctrines of Molyneux and Lucas with a finer genius; and he spoke to an armed nation, which had heard the words of Grattan and Flood. The Volunteers showed the greatest activity in acting upon the suggestions of the press. They held regimental meetings in Dublin, and in the provinces, in support of home manufactures, and avowed their determination to use no other; at the same time, with expressive language, demanding the extension of the commerce of Ireland.

The terms of the non-importation agreement were not uniform.\* The following is one which was adopted by the gentry and people of Meath :—

"We, the gentlemen, clergy, and inhabitants of the county of Meath, whose names are hereunto subscribed, observing with concern the distress experienced by persons of every rank in this kingdom, but particularly by the manufacturers, on whose employment and prosperity depend in a great measure the value of our lands and the sufficiency of our revenue, and considering it is a duty we owe to ourselves and our fellow-subjects to do everything within the extent of our ability, not only to alleviate this distress at present, but to pre-

\* THOLSEL, DUBLIN.

*At a general meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened by public notice.*

William James, and John Exshaw, *High Sheriffs*, in the chair.

The following resolutions, among others, were unanimously agreed to:

"That we will not, from the date hereof, until the *grievances of this country* shall be removed, directly or indirectly import or *consume ANY* of the manufactures of *Great Britain*; nor will we *deal* with any merchant or shopkeeper, who shall *import* such manufactures; and that we recommend an adoption of a similar agreement to *all* our countrymen who regard the commerce and constitution of this country.

"Resolved unanimously, That we highly applaud the manly and patriotic sentiments of the several corps of Merchants, Independent Dublin, Liberty, and Goldsmiths' Volunteers, and heartily thank them for their demonstration of zeal and ardour in the cause of their country; and that we shall ever be ready to join with them in defending our rights and constitution, and gladly and cheerfully contribute to *PROTECT* them from *PROSECUTION OR PERSECUTION*.

*Signed, JOHN EXSHAW, Sheriff.*

N. B.—This resolution had been preceded, some months before, by similar resolutions in Galway and other parts of Ireland; but the nation could not be considered as having generally adopted those sentiments till they were sanctioned by the metropolis.—*Barrington's Risc and Fall*, p. 100, *Duffy's Edition*.

vent it in future, have entered into the following resolutions, as the best means to attain this desirable end.

“Resolved, therefore, That we, our families, and those whom we can influence, will, from this day, make use of the manufactures of this kingdom only.

“Resolved, That we consider ourselves as solemnly engaged to adhere to the above resolution, as long as the traders and manufacturers of this kingdom approve themselves by their conduct worthy of liberal encouragement from the public.

“Resolved, That we will not buy any articles whatsoever from any person or persons in Dublin or elsewhere, who shall, after the date of these resolutions, be known to purchase, on his own behalf, or dispose on account of others, or of any goods which are not manufactured in this kingdom; as we consider those who oppose or evade regulations which have been so generally approved of as the only method to relieve thousands of their fellow-subjects from extreme poverty and misery, as enemies equally to their country and to humanity.

“Proposals for supplying one thousand inhabitants of the county of Meath with arms and accoutrements, will be received by George Lowther, Esq., at Killrue.

“(Signed) W. GRATTAN, Sheriff.”

Documents of a similar nature were signed by the leading men in Ireland—by such men as Leinster, Charlemont, Flood, Farnham, De Vesci, Lanesborough, and Newenham. The spirit of English monopoly took alarm, whilst some of the enlightened members of the English Legislature, recognising the justice of the retaliatory movement in Ireland, endeavoured to procure liberal measures of concession. Glasgow petitioned against them—Manchester brawled—and Bristol was in arms. These towns had been great gainers in the Irish trade, yet they were the loudest and most vociferous of the opponents to the removal of the restrictions. It was, therefore a matter of no small satisfaction to those who entered into the non-importation and non-consumption agreements, that in effecting a great commercial and political movement, they would also be enabled to punish the ingratitude and avarice of the traders who had so largely profited by their discouragement. The feeling of government on the subject of non-importation was one of great irritation, and their partizans in Parliament did not hesitate to give bitter utterance to their hatred of the Volunteers and of the commercial movement. Lord Shelburne, in May, 1779, called the Irish army an “enraged mob;” but the phrase was infelicitous, and told only half the truth. They were enraged; but they were not a mob. They had no one quality of a mob. They had discipline—arms—and a military system. Their ranks were filled with gentlemen, and officered by nobles. But such expressions as Lord Shelburne’s were of great advantage. They kept clearly, in bold relief, the ancient and irremovable feeling of Englishmen and the contemptuous falsehood of their estimate of the Irish people. In the same spirit, the organ of government wrote to the central authority in England on the subject of the non-importa-

tion agreement:—"For some days past, the names of the traders who appear by the printed returns of the Custom-House to have imported any English goods, have been printed in the Dublin newspaper. This is probably calculated for the abominable purpose of drawing the indignation of the mob upon individuals, and is supposed to be the act of the meanest of the faction."\* When the Lord Lieutenant penned this paragraph, he did not, assuredly, remember the meanness of the manufacturers and traders of his own country, or the measures adopted by the English Parliament, at their dictation, to crush the trade and paralyse the industry of this country. The retaliation was just, and no means that could have been adopted could equal the atrocity of the conduct of the English towns, to the productive industry of Ireland. Englishmen had a Parliament obedient to the dictates of the vile spirit of English trade—the Irish people had not as yet established their freedom, or armed themselves with the resistless weapon of free institutions. They were obliged to legislate for themselves, and were justified by the exigency in adopting any means to enforce the national will. It seems strange, that it should be necessary to defend the measure of holding up to scorn the traitors who could expose in their shops articles of foreign manufacture, every article of which was a representative of their country's impoverishment and decay. But the English press denounced it as the policy of savages, and pointed out the Irish people to the contumely of Europe. At the same time, the English manufacturers, ever careless of present sacrifices to secure permanent advantages, flooded the country towns with the accumulated products of the woollen manufacture, which, owing to the war and other causes, had remained in their hands; they offered these goods to the small shopkeepers at the lowest possible prices, and desired them to name their own time for payment; and they partially succeeded in inducing many of the low and embarrassed servitors of trade, through their necessities, and by the seductive promise of long credit, to become traitors to the cause of Irish industry. The Volunteers and the leaders of the movement were equally active on their side. The press—the pulpit—and the ball-room were enlisted in the cause of native industry. The scientific institutions circulated, gratuitously, tracts on the improvement of manufacture—on the modes adopted in the Continental manufacturing districts, and on the economy of production.† Trade revived; the manufacturers who had thronged the city of Dublin, the ghastly apparitions of decayed industry, found employment provided for them by the patriotism and spirit of the country; the proscribed goods of England remained unsold, or only sold under false colours, by knavish and profigate retailers; the country enjoyed some of the fruits of freedom, before she obtained freedom itself.

The organization of the Volunteers proceeded rapidly in the year 1780. Their numbers at the commencement of this year have been variously estimated; and it is difficult to obtain any certainty on the subject, amidst the conflicting and most unsatisfactory accounts which

\* Letter of Lord Lieutenant to Lord Weymouth, May, 1779.

† See a letter signed "Patrick," in the Hibernian Journal. August 14, 1780.

exist of this great national institution.\* They probably reached thirty thousand men within the first year of their existence. Their discipline had been improving every day; for they omitted no means of procuring military instruction. The ties which attached them in self-imposed obedience to their officers, and bound all together in one great bond of military union, were those of lofty honour and generous patriotism. They present in this great democratic union a contrast sufficiently significant to the usual military bodies which had the destinies, the peace, the lives, and property of Irishmen, committed to their mercenary care for so long a period. In the conduct of the latter, the *coign and livery* which ancient legislation had proscribed, too often re-appeared in modern forms of military outrage, barbarity, and violation. The mischief of committing arms to the custody of the basest of mankind, restrained only by the factitious conscience of the lash and the halberts, was too often calamitously proved by the conduct of the British soldiery, and, it must be sadly confessed, by the Irish yeomanry and militia at a later period, when the glory of the Volunteers had departed, and the vast promise of their confederation had been sacrificed by the weakness of their leaders and the cabals and the corruption of England. The Volunteers were unpaid; they were of the people, the children and champions of the state; the preservation of public peace was an object most dear to them, not as a specific duty, but as a matter of pride and love; and therefore the testimonies of all men, in the Houses of Parliament of England and of Ireland, and in the newspapers and political literature of the day, attribute to the existence of the Volunteers, the profound peace, the respect to law, and the regard for property which existed in Ireland during their confederation.

“ Such being for five years together the effect of the volunteer system—of the will of the people manifesting itself on the principle of universal suffrage—in a word, of democratic ascendancy substituted for a mixture of monarchical and aristocratical ascendancy under a foreign monarch, and calling itself Protestant Ascendancy because it was by Protestant hands that the tyranny was exercised—such being the nature of the powerful influence exercised by the body of the people on the conduct of the government—what were the results ?

“ Subversion of the rights of property ? No such thing. Subversion of the constitution ? No such thing. In the constitution of the kingdom of Ireland, a change was indeed effected. But even on the occasion on which it was effected, numerous as were the authorities, without the concurrence of which the change neither was nor could have been effected, ample in every case was the applause bestowed upon it. Scarcely in any one was an objection made to it—nor has so much as the shadow of an objection been raised against it since. The only flagrantly bad point removed, all the other points, good and bad together, continued as before.

\* There is only one book professing to be a history of the Volunteers, by Wilson. It is one of the worst compilations that ever was published, and absolutely contains little or nothing on its nominal subject. In truth, the only materials for a narrative of the Volunteers, are the reports of their meetings and resolutions in the papers; and these are not very satisfactory.

"Such being the institution—democratic ascendancy—behold its fruits: tranquillity, harmony, morality, felicity, unexampled. Such as they were—behold another miracle—by the evidence of all parties in one voice, their existence was acknowledged. People's men triumphed in their golden age, and recorded it. Aristocratic Whigs, even after they had succeeded in destroying it—in substituting for it the iron age—trumpeted it, calling it their own work. So conspicuous was it—so incontestible, that not even could the most zealous monarchists and Tories forbear confessing its existence."\*—New edition of Bentham's Works, Part X., p. 615.

The year 1780 was one of incessant organization; reviews took place throughout all Ireland; and a great provincial meeting was appointed for the November of that year, previous to which in all parts of the country the Volunteer corps were reviewed by the commanding officers in each district. The Earl of Belvidere reviewed the troops of Westmeath; the Limerick and Clare Volunteers were reviewed by Lord Kingsborough; the Londonderry by Lord Erne; the Volunteers of the South by Lord Shannon; those of Wicklow by Lord Kingsborough; and the Volunteers of Dublin county and city, who had formed themselves into associated corps, by Lord Carysfort, Sir Edward Newenham, and other men of rank, patriotism, and fortune. These reviews were attended with every circumstance of brilliancy. There was no absence of the pomp of war. The Volunteers had supplied themselves with artillery, tents, and all the requisites of the field. They had received many presents of ordnance; numerous stands of colours had been presented to them, with no absence of ceremony and splendour, by women of the highest station and figure in the country, whose pride it was to attend the reviews in their handsomest equipages and clothed in their gayest attire.† But these military shows were not the sports of men who played at soldiers—they would have used the arms that glittered in their hands. Their ranks were filled with men of well-known gallantry—the chosen warriors of a people always brave. One can scarcely fancy a nobler scene than one of the early meetings of the Volunteers. Delighted thousands looked not on a mercenary troop whose arms would be as freely used against as for them, the disciplined machines of arbitrary will—but on their most virtuous fellow-countrymen, their friends, their brothers, their sons; the statesmen whose wisdom was to save their country, and the orators whose genius had exalted her.

The Volunteers had, till the middle of the year '80, acted in independent troops and companies, and were only linked together in a community of feeling and design. But it soon became apparent that for any purpose of great and general action—for any grand military measure, consolidation was absolutely necessary, and that it would be politic to create an united army under the command of one man of station, talents, and character.

\* This extract is quoted in the work of an Englishman, Smiles's History of Ireland. It is an admirably written book, and forms a most useful assistance for Englishmen in the study of our history.

† Grattan's Life, vol. 2, p. 124.

The selection fell upon James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont. He was the descendant of an ancient family in Oxfordshire, one of whose members, Sir Toby Caulfield, after having served with distinction in Spain and the Low Countries, settled here, and received from Elizabeth the barony of Charlemont, in 1620. James, the fifth Baron, who was known as *the good Lord Charlemont*, was raised, in 1665, to the dignity of Viscount. The third Viscount, James, left four sons, of whom the Earl of Charlemont was the second, and succeeded to the titles and property of his father, his elder brother having died young. The family of Charlemont was, at its establishment in Ireland, enriched by large grants in Armagh. It was a cheap way of compensating those who had served in England, to award to their virtues large slices of confiscation in Ireland; but there are few families, the foundation of whose wealth and rank were laid in the plunder of our ancestors, who have done more to repay the early evil of their beginnings by their virtues and services, than the noble line of Charlemont.

Lord Charlemont travelled much on the Continent. He spent a year at the Academy in Turin, where he met the historian Hume, from whom, fortunately, he acquired neither the creed of Deism nor the practice of falsehood. He visited Greece, the Ionian Isles, and Rome. He spent some time in Italy, and saw Egypt. He has written agreeable Journals of his tour; but the ground is now familiar. He returned to Ireland accomplished, affable, and graceful; and he had the virtue to stay at home, sorely tempted as he was by the associations he had formed in England and abroad. He had been nine years away, and returned just as the contest between Primate Stone and Henry Boyle was calming down into the disgrace of one and the corruption of the other.

Lord Charlemont's first Irish services were neither splendid nor honourable. He was chosen as the negotiator between Boyle and the Lord Lieutenant. His duty was to strike a balance between what the Irish patriot wanted and the English official would give; and he was eminently successful in eliciting harmony from the jar-rings of sordid ambition and Castle economy. But he soon left the Castle sphere—though well fitted by taste and feeling to be a courtier, it should be with honour—and that was an impossible fact in Ireland. Like the Eastern slave, who leaves his shoes at the door before he enters, men put aside their honesty and honour as they pass the Castle gates. They walked there better without these daily virtues. It is said by Hardy, that Lord Charlemont was ignorant of the bargain struck between Boyle and the Lord Lieutenant, by which the former got a pension;\* but there was enough of profligacy in the concessions made by both parties, even though money had never changed hands between them, to take all glory from the office of negotiator. The future General of the Volunteers found fitter work to employ him than he could procure at the Castle, and his career from his first exploit in diplomacy, was one of active patriotism. In those early

\* Life of Charlemont, vol. 1, p. 93.

days he had thought of bringing, by a fictitious suit, the right of appeal from the Irish Courts and House of Lords, which had been usurped by England, into legal and direct discussion. Illness prevented the scheme; but it is plain that Charlemont had not suddenly adopted the principles of '82 as an occasional fashion, or as being a follower of Grattan and Flood.

The selection of this nobleman to command the Volunteers, reflected credit on the right of choice which they had established as their military rule. His course had been one of consistent virtue: and, though an opponent of the Court party, he had been from the first highly respected by them. In truth, he enjoyed the regard of both parties. The popular faction might have wished him less courtly, and the dependents of the Court less honest—but both respected the virtues and manly patriotism which shed such lustre upon his rank. There could, therefore, be no higher guarantee of the intentions of the Volunteers, than their placing Lord Charlemont at their head. There were men in Ireland more fiery and with more genius, who might have led the army of the people to a nobler fate; but, choosing without the privilege of prophecy, they could not have selected one more adapted to do honour to their choice than Lord Charlemont.

From the time of his election, he was particularly attentive to his duties as General-in-Chief. He reviewed the Volunteers in 1780–81, and '82, constantly in many parts of Ireland. These reviews were very splendid, and at Belfast, five thousand men in a state of superior discipline and organization were on the field together.

It is not necessary to dwell upon the part Lord Charlemont took in the controversy of independence. He voted in all the minorities for his country, and was seen on her side, even when his brother general, the Duke of Leinster, divided against him. And in the great passage of Irish freedom—the Declaration of Right—Lord Charlemont sympathised with and aided the movement. We shall see, at a later period, how, by the timidity of his character, and his indisposition to great changes wrought by bold means, he was induced to take a step which ended in the destruction of the Volunteers.

Lord Charlemont, without extraordinary abilities, without any great force of character, achieved a very honourable reputation in our history. He was a centre round which great men revolved—he shone in their light. Possessed of great amiability, he had no meanness. His country, not ungrateful, has remembered all his virtues and his services; it must be said, in a spirit sorrowful and not condemning, that she has something to forget.

Let us now retrace our steps, and going back to the last few months of the year 1779, direct our attention to the effect produced upon legislation in both countries, by the non-importation agreements, and the formidable attitude assumed by the army of Ireland.

The session of 1779–80 opened with very stormy promise. The speech from the Lord Lieutenant contained more than the usual quantity of inexplicit falsehood, and diplomatic subterfuge. The address in reply was its echo, or would have been, but that Henry Grattan, he who was, above all others, the *man of his day*, moved his

celebrated amendment. The speech of the Viceroy had alluded with skilful obscurity to certain liberal intentions of the king on the subject of trade: but there was no promise for hope to rest upon: it was vague and without meaning. This was not what the spirit of the hour or the genius of the men would endure. Molyneux, Swift, and Lucas would have written, lived, and suffered in vain; vainly would the long and tedious teaching of disappointment and betrayal have cultivated the Irish people into shrewd and bold hearts and manhood, if at this great crisis the leaders of the people had received as true, or treated with respect, the courtly falsehoods and baser subterfuge of a Viceroy's speech. They felt the time had come to strike with mortal blow the whole system of English tyranny, and to give freedom and security to the trade and industry of Ireland.

When the speech was read in the Commons, the English interest anxiously scanned the opposition benches, detecting their unusual notes of preparation. They saw that something would be done embarrassing to their system and to them; but they could not anticipate the blow that was ready for their heads, or that their fiercest foe would be a placeman in their ranks. An address was proposed by Sir Robert Deane, a drudge of government, re-echoing, in servility, the vague generalities of the speech. Grattan then rose to propose his amendment:—

“ That we beseech his majesty to believe that it is with the utmost reluctance we presume to approach his royal person with even the smallest appearance of dissatisfaction; but that the distress of this kingdom is such as renders it an indispensable duty in us to lay the melancholy state of it before his majesty, and to point out what we apprehend to be the only effectual means of relief; that the constant drain of its cash to supply absentees, and the fetters on its commerce, have always been sufficient to prevent this country from becoming opulent in its circumstances, but that those branches of trade which have hitherto enabled it to struggle with the difficulties it labours under, have now almost totally failed; that its commercial credit is sunk, all its resources are decaying rapidly, and numbers of its most industrious inhabitants in danger of perishing for want; that as long as they were able to flatter themselves that the progress of those evils might be stopped by their own efforts, they were unwilling to trouble his majesty upon the subject of their distress; but finding that they increase upon them, notwithstanding all their endeavours, they are at last obliged to have recourse to his majesty's benignity and justice, and most humbly to acquaint him that, in their opinion, the only effectual remedy that can be applied to the sufferings of this kingdom, that can either invigorate its credit or support its people, is to open its ports for the exportation of all its manufactures; that it is evident to every unprejudiced mind that Great Britain would derive as much benefit from this measure as Ireland itself, but that Ireland cannot subsist without it, and that it is with the utmost grief they find themselves under the necessity of again acquainting his majesty that, unless some happy change in the state of its affairs takes place without delay, it must inevitably be reduced to remain a burden upon England, in-

stead of increasing its resources, or affording it the assistance which its natural affection for that country, and the intimate connection between their interests, have always inclined it to offer."

Grattan's speech in support of the amendment must have been badly preserved, for what remains bears no proportion to the magnitude of the interests, or the absorbing nature of the subject.

To the rage and dismay of government—passions of which unequivocal demonstrations were given on the ministerial benches—when Grattan assumed his seat, Hussey Burgh, the prime sergeant, one of the most eloquent and fascinating men of the day, an official of government, a stanch supporter, one to whom, from the spirit of his office, patriotism should have been impossible, moved that “we beg to represent to his Majesty that it is not by temporary expedients but by *a free trade alone* that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.” This resolution was carried unanimously; the supporters of government saw that it was useless to oppose the spirit of the house; the nation was standing petitioner at their bar for the privileges of nature, production and consumption; the Volunteers were drawn up through the streets of Dublin, with an intelligible alternative hung round the necks of their cannon, “Free trade or —”; and the amendment of Henry Grattan, with the improvements of Burgh, received on the part of the patriots an exulting support, and on the part of the ministers a fearful and angry assent. The day after this distinguished success, the addresses of the Lords and Commons were brought up to the Castle; the streets from the house to the seat of government were lined with the corps of the Dublin Volunteers under arms, who paid military honours to the favourite leaders; the city was in a tumult of joy and triumph, contrasting not unfavourably with the rage and despair that hung around the Castle. And that no doubt might be entertained of the authors of this important movement—that the merit of success should be laid at the right door, thanks to the Volunteers were moved and carried in the Lords and Commons. The motion in the House of Commons was made by Mr. Conolly, the head of the country gentlemen. The Duke of Leinster carried the motion through the Lords with only one dissentient voice, Lord Chancellor Lifford, one of those English lawyers who are sent over to Ireland, from time to time, to occupy the highest seats of justice, and enjoy the largest emoluments in the country. The Lord Lieutenant, in writing to Lord Weymouth, complains bitterly of these votes; unanimous expressions as they were of the feelings of all classes in the state, they appeared in a most reprehensible light to the Viceroy, who petulantly wrote home his complaint that the proceeding was occasioned wholly by the Duke of Leinster.

The government quite alive to the fact that the present posture of affairs resulted from the power and determination of the Volunteers, set on one of their habitual agents to assail them. This was Scott, the attorney-general, who afterwards, as Lord Clonmel, was with a few monstrous exceptions the most inhuman judge that ever presided

in the shambles of Irish justice.\* He attacked the Volunteers with an habitual vulgar fury—described them by every name which the quick invention of a ferocious mind could devise; and he was supported in his philippic by Sir Henry Cavendish, who reminded the house that the Independents of the past century commenced by seeming moderation, but ended by *cutting off the head of the king*: men might creep into the Volunteers, who might urge them to similar dangerous courses. But Grattan repelled the charges against the army in which he was a distinguished soldier—and told the legislature that the great objects which they sought, could not be obtained by the skill, the prudence, or the dexterity of 300 men without the spirit and co-operation of 3,000,000. The military associations, he said, “caused a fortunate change in the sentiments of this house; they inspired us to ask directly for the greatest object that ever was set within the view of Ireland—a free trade; they inspired the Commons; they animated the Lords; and having both houses unanimous in the greatest measure that ever combined a nation, having given fire to that union, they carried you, Sir, the people carried you proudly on their crest, when you proceeded to deliver to his Excellency the great requisition.” The spirit in the country well replied to the spirit within the walls of the house. The Volunteers instructed the representatives to vote the supplies for no longer than six months. They now amounted to 50,000 men; and a nobler spectacle a nation never looked upon. Possessed of every wonted military attribute, disciplined and well-armed, they had other qualities that are too often absent in military organization. They were the army of the people; their commission included only the duties of free-born men to fight for liberty and to defend a country. Most of their officers were the highest blood of an ancient and aristocratic country—men not alone ennobled by long descent, but by the high qualities of genius, wisdom, and integrity. The soldiers were the yeomen of the land, having as definite an interest in her prosperity as the highest peer in the service. And all were bound together by the deepest attachment to the liberties of Ireland. They had seen what they were able to effect—and as concession after concession was wrung from power, the bold and sagacious of them determined not to rest from their efforts until a free and reformed parliament sat within the walls of the senate house, the permanent security and guarantee of freedom. But it is no more than a usual passage in the history of men and of institutions, that by the weakness and vacillations of some among the Volunteers, men of pure and generous principle but of narrow and contracted views, their mission was destroyed, and their glory for ever obscured.

The question of the supplies came before the house on the 25th November, 1779. The patriots had determined to withhold the grant, or to limit the duration of the money bill, until free trade was yielded by England. But Scott, the Attorney General, endeavoured to prove that supplies to pay the interest of the national debt, the ton-

\* See the Leading State Trials of Ireland, in the introduction to the Trials of the Defendants, for a character of Clonmel.—Mac Nevin's State Trials, p. 294.

tine, and the loans, were not supplies to the crown but for the discharge of national responsibilities. "How tender," said Grattan, "the administration is regarding the monied interests of individuals; how little they care to risk the ruin of the nation!" The Attorney General moved that the supplies should be granted for two years—Mr. French moved an amendment that they should be granted for six months. A brilliant debate was the consequence—the war of personality, which was always carried on with so much vigour and genius in the house, never raged with fiercer or more splendid power—but the great oration of the day was delivered by Hussey Burgh. He said:—

" You have but two nights ago declared against new taxes, by a majority of 123, and have left the ministers supported only by 47 votes; if you now go back and accede to the proposed grant for two years, your compliance will add insult to the injuries already done to your ill-fated country: you strike a dagger in your own bosom, and destroy the fair prospect of commercial hope, because if the minister can, in the course of two days, render void the animated spirit and patriotic stability of this house, and procure a majority, the British minister will treat our applications for free trade with contempt. When the interests of the government and the people are contrary, they secretly operate against each other; such a state is but smothered war. I shall be a friend alike to the minister and the people, according as I find their desires guided by justice; but at such a crisis as this the people must be kept in good temper, even to the indulgence of their caprices.

" The usurped authority of a foreign parliament has kept up the most wicked laws that a jealous, monopolizing, ungrateful spirit could devise, to restrain the bounty of Providence, and enslave a nation, whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland, are synonymous, they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and, though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws have borne her down to a state Egyptian bondage. The English have sowed their laws like serpents' teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men."\*

The amendment was carried by 138 to 100: the triumph of the principles of free-trade was ensured; and the minister acknowledged the necessity of precipitately retracing his steps. Who can doubt the vast influence the Volunteers exerted in all these proceedings? On the preceding 4th of November—the anniversary of the birth of William the Third, one whose name was theretofore and afterwards continued to be the watchword of party, not of liberty; but whose birth

\* Hussey Burgh lost his place, but rose in popular estimation. Meetings were held in different parts of the country, to present him with addresses of thanks. The freedom of the Corporation of Carrickfergus, and other corporate towns, was given to him in gold boxes. The address from the Carrickfergus Corporation was presented by Barry Yelverton, Recorder of the town.—See *Freeman's Journal*, January 4th, 1780.

at that time, only recalled the services he had rendered by the dethronement of a tyrant—the Volunteers had taken the opportunity of reading to the minister and the parliament a lesson of constitutional doctrine around the statue of him, who was, they conceived, the founder of constitutional liberty. They assembled in College-Green—the Dublin Volunteer artillery, commanded by James Napper Tandy, with labels bearing the inscription, “Free-trade or speedy revolution,” suspended on the necks of their cannon—the Volunteers of Dublin and the vicinity under the orders of the Duke of Leinster. The sides of the pedestal on which stood the statue of the Deliverer, were ornamented with collections of most significant political reasoning; and under the angry eyes of the executive, such teaching as the following were given at once to the governors and the governed. On one side of the pillar was inscribed, “Relief to Ireland;” on another, “a short money bill, a free-trade, or else——” on a third, “the Volunteers, quinquaginta millia juncti, parati pro patria mori;”\* and in front of the statue were two cannons bearing an inscription on each, “Free-trade or this.” The people were assembled in thousands around the Volunteer troops, and their enthusiasm re-echoed in deafening applause the thunder of the artillery.† It was a scene, productive of commercial and political freedom: that the latter was evanescent was not the fault of the institution, or lack of spirit; but divisions, and doubts, and suspicions were introduced amongst the body by the exertions of England; new ambitions filled the minds of some; the force of old ministerial associations pressed upon others; the courtly tendencies and the timid alarms of a few of the leading men, led them to sacrifice what they had gained, rather than to peril English connexion by nobly seeking unlimited freedom. But at the period of which we are writing, the Volunteer system was compact and perfect. The wants of Ireland were commercial and political. She had been made a bankrupt by monopoly, and a slave by usurpation. The Volunteers were to give her prosperity and freedom, by unrestricted trade and legislation. And right well did they set themselves to their appointed task; with what success appears from Lord North’s Free-trade bill, and Grattan’s Declaration of Right.

It was appointed unto Lord North to undo the work of William the Third, and to take the first step towards restoring the trade to which the Deliverer had given the finishing blow. Lord North had great experience in obstinate oppression, and not less in the recognition of the liberties he had trampled upon. He had braved the genius of Chatham in the disastrous campaigns against transalantic freedom;

\* “Fifty thousand United Irishmen, prepared to die for their country.”

† There was a popular Volunteer march, composed and adapted to a collection of words which indicates the spirit and the wants of the day:—

Was she not a fool,  
When she took of our wool,  
To leave us so much of the  
Leather, the leather?  
It ne’er entered her pate,  
That a sheepskin well beat,  
Would draw a whole nation  
Together, together.

the world has read with profit the sequel of his history in that great transaction. He had opposed every effort to emancipate the trade of Ireland—it is the agreeable duty of an Irish writer to detail the concessions wrung from him by the arms of the Volunteers, and the eloquence and genius of those who led them to victory. On the 13th of December, 1779, he introduced into the English legislature three propositions: to permit, first, the export of glass; second, the export of woollen goods; and third, a free-trade with the English settlements in America, the West Indies, and Africa.

In connection with these propositions, Foster, the Speaker of the Irish House, and on that occasion the representative of government, on the 20th of the same month, moved two resolutions in the Irish legislature. 1st, That the exportation of the manufactures of this country would tend to relieve her distress. 2nd, That great commercial benefits would flow from the permission to trade with the American, Indian and African settlements. Propositions of very manifest truth, but tardily acknowledged by the English and Irish governments, whose recognition is obviously attributable to a style of political reasoning which will prove any thing that a nation of men requires to demonstrate. The propositions of Lord North, and the resolutions of Foster, were the basis of the bill which some months later gave a free-trade to Ireland; and for the first time, since William the Third destroyed the woollen manufacture, and his English parliament laid on restrictions on her productive industry, her people were free to use the resources a liberal nature offered them, and which a foreign tyrant sealed from their anxious hands. Fortunately, we can look back calmly, because it may be that we are not specially interested, to these transactions, and we might well suppose that any degree of violent change, any sudden and fierce out-break, any bloody unfurling of our ancient “Sunburst,”\* would have been excusable in a people, dwelling amidst great natural abundance, with arms as stout, and hearts as willing as ever were joined to create the wealth of nations, and yet doomed to want and woe by the jealous monopoly of a rival. Such oppression would not have been endured for a year by any but a divided people; but while the war of religion and race was raging, trade and wealth easily slipped from the hands of a nation too hotly engaged in feud to attend to the interests of their industry. The efforts they had made to free their trade were the efforts of slaves—petition and remonstrance; it was not until they demanded free-trade with the Volunteer alternative, that England struck. When their petitions were presented at the point of the bayonet,† she did not find it convenient to refuse them.

\* The standard of Ireland.

† De Beaumont's Ireland, vol. 1, p. 179; translated by Dr. Taylor. There is an excellent chapter on the Volunteers in De Beaumont's book.

NOTE TO PAGE 76.

On the 1st December, 1778, the people of Armagh entered into voluntary armed associations, at the head of which were Thomas Prentice, George Murray, and Samuel Maxwell. Lord Charlemont took the command January 2nd, 1759. He had at first refused, on the ground that as the Lord Lieutenant of the county he might be called upon to command the militia; but he finally consented.—(Stuart's History of Armagh, p. 557.) The 36th re-

## CHAPTER III.

Free Trade—Henry Grattan—Reviews in the North—Dungannon Convention—Ireland free—Reform in Parliament—Dublin Convention—Decline of the Volunteers—Establishment of Militia.

THE non-importation association, and the spirit of the Volunteers triumphed over the policy of England. Lord North, in February, 1780, introduced his Free-trade bill in a speech, which was the best refutation of his former arguments, and the severest condemnation of his former conduct.

The intelligence of the concessions made by that bill—liberty to export woollen manufacture, and to trade with the British colonies, was received with great joy by the people. But their joy was tempered with a wise care for the future, and the greater the conceded advantages were, the more did they feel themselves pressed by the insecurity of possession. The very magnitude of the gift, taught them with greater force the true principles of freedom. They reflected that the right which jealous power had respected in its hour of weakness, it would trample on with recovered strength. What security had they that at some future period, when they had possibly established a thriving trade, and expended much labour and money in creating a prosperous commerce, there might not arise another William ready to gratify the insolent avarice of England, by the destruction of their trade and manufactures? The wisdom of Swift, of Lucas, and of Molyneux, appealed to them in the hour of recovered trade, and pleaded strongly for unrecovered liberty. They received a free-trade then, not as a gift from bounty, but as a surrendered right from weakened power; and rejoicing at the extent of the benefit, they were neither fools nor sycophants; nor did they compromise their duty to their country by a needless excess of gratitude to her frightened oppressor. Thus, in the resolutions which record the people's joy, we may find the strongest expressions of their determination to effect greater things

giment of foot were quartered at Armagh, and used to teach the Volunteers the use of arms.—(Ib. 558.) A troop of Volunteer horse, into which Catholics were admitted, was raised at Armagh, 2nd April, 1782: Lord Charlemont was elected captain.—(Ib. 560.) The Limerick Volunteers were embodied July, 1778, and received 1000 stand of arms from government.—(Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 135.) The Volunteers of the town of Galway were embodied 31st May, 1779. Richard Martin of Ballinahinch was their first colonel. He was deposed on a supposition of being favourable to Government, but was restored on clearing himself of the disagreeable imputation.—(Hardiman's History of Galway, p. 189.)

## NOTE TO PAGE 86.

In June, 1779, the Lord Lieutenant wrote to Lord Weymouth, that he had refused and would refuse arms "for the use of the self-created troops and companies in this kingdom;" in a month after, (July 23rd,) the same Lord Lieutenant communicated to the minister that, by the advice of the Privy Council, he had supplied the Volunteers with part of the arms intended for the militia.

## NOTE TO PAGE 97.

Galway had the honour of having adopted the first non-importation agreement in Ireland.—(Hardiman's History of Galway, p. 189.) The terms of the agreement are found in a note in that most admirable book.

than the emancipation of their trade. Every county in Ireland addressed its representatives; every corps of Volunteers addressed its officers; and the spirit of these effusions may be judged from one, selected from amongst many, to which the spirit of the day gave birth. The gentlemen of the grand jury and freeholders of the county of Monaghan, addressing their representatives, amongst other things, said:—

“ While we rejoice in common with the rest of our fellow-subjects, at the advantages which Ireland has latterly obtained, and which we are fully convinced are attributable to the parental attention of his Majesty, the virtue of our parliament, and the spirit of our people; yet, as these advantages are confined to commerce, our satisfaction must be limited, lest our rights and privileges should seem to be lost in the joy which attends a partial restoration of them. We do affirm that no parliament had, has, or of right ought to have, any power or authority whatsoever, in this kingdom, *except the parliament of Ireland*; that no statute has the force of law in this kingdom, unless enacted by the king with the consent of the Lords and Commons of the land; on this principle the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is to be founded, and on this principle we trust, not only that it may be rendered secure and permanent, but that the two kingdoms may become strongly united and advantageously circumstanced, as to be enabled to oppose with success, the common enemies of the British empire. What you have done, we look on as a beginning; and we trust, that the termination of the session will be as beneficial to the constitution, as the commencement has been to the commerce of the country.”

These were the sentiments of manly but conditional loyalty, of generous love of freedom above even the material benefits of trade, which led to the Revolution of '82, and whose diversion into other channels after the Volunteers had ceased to exist as a great national army, drove so many great and upright men into rebellion and conspiracy.

The desire of constitutional liberty having once seized upon the people, several means of obtaining that object were adopted. In parliament, a short Mutiny Bill became a favourite measure. The evils of a standing army, the dangers to freedom inseparable from the existence within the realm of a large force of armed men, having from its very organization no sympathies with the people, were eloquently dwelt upon by the leading patriots in the house; magistrates refused to billet soldiers under a Mutiny Act, to which they objected on two grounds, first, that it was an English act of parliament, and secondly, that it was perpetual, and created an armed irresponsible authority within the state. The Irish Mutiny Act had only extended to six months—it had been returned from England with a change rendering it perpetual; thus the legislation might well be called English, and the principle despotic. The act was resisted, and it would have remained a dead letter, but that the ultimate decision of the matter rested with the judges, and it was not thought advisable to resort to their tribunals. But the time had arrived when Henry Grattan commenced, in grave and noble earnest, the great quarrel of parliamentary liberty. And

never was a man more fitted by nature for a great work than he was. Swift had written of Irish politics with masterly power—Molyneux with considerable learning—and Lucas with homely vigour and honest zeal; but in Henry Grattan all the qualities of greatness were combined. He was a man of a pure spirit and a noble genius. He was an accomplished scholar, and a poet; but his scholarship and his poetry gave way to a grand, peculiar, and electric oratory, unsurpassed, probably unequalled by the greatest speakers of any age or nation. It was argumentative and logical in the highest degree; but it was also imaginative and picturesque. Its figures were bold and new—its striking peculiarity consisted in the total absence of the usual or the vulgar. In its noble flights, in the utter *abandonment* of genius, there was a grandeur, and elegant proportion, a profound wisdom, and a startling vehemence which contributed to give to the orator all the weight of inspiration. He did, indeed, speak with the authority of an oracle; not, however, obscurely, or with the vague wisdom of ancient *fatigued* nation, but with profound truth and clearness. In a very beautiful estimate of the character of our great countryman, by a late writer,\* three attributes are assigned to Grattan. He was the first Irishman who treated of Irish politics on a grand scale, with breadth of view and liberal judgment—he was the first Irishman who ministered intellectually to the national character of his country—he was not only a national patriot, he was also a herald of civilization. Other great Irishmen there had been in abundance; others whose sympathies were imperial, who with great and brilliant qualities had transferred themselves and their glory to other theatres than Ireland; and who, like Edmund Burke, succeeded so far in eradicating natural feelings, as to exult in the greatness of England as of their “better and adopted country.” But Grattan’s fame is not imperial—it is Irish. His genius was of the growth of Ireland, an exquisite realization of those high qualities which are claimed for, and generally accorded to our countrymen—wit, poetry, eloquence, passion, vehemence. And his intellect, unlike that of other distinguished men, rested on the base of high moral virtue. Truth, candour, courage, were united with his intellectual powers, and with simplicity and tenderness of character, to form a perfect man.† Nor was he the less perfect, because the keen but not generous criticism of modern writers has discovered, or fancies that it has discovered on the ample disk of his glory, some trifling spots. In truth, he was our greatest Irishman; and of the era of our greatest glory, he was the presiding, ruling genius. With a quick and eager spirit, he possessed a directing wisdom; what he felt to be right, he pursued with impassioned zeal, and though his great work, legislative freedom, was only monumental to his glory, it was as great a fabric as ever was reared by human genius and wisdom.

Such was the man who passed through every stage of popular affection and hatred; at one period idolized as a god, at another hunted

\* Introduction to Grattan’s Select Speeches, p. xlvi., by Daniel Owen Madden, Esq.

† In a very extraordinary but very able article in the Dublin Review, September, 1843, there is a studied attempt to depreciate the character of Grattan. Supposing, but by no means admitting the truth of its statements, it is a poor triumph to snatch flowers from such a grave.

like a criminal, he underwent the chance of being deified by the people, who afterwards sought to crush him with the punishment of a Sejanus. And though he oulived the slanders of his own day, and by a long life of generous devotion to his country, gave the lie to contemporary hatred; his memory has not escaped some mistaken, but it is to be hoped unintentional calumnies, which the ingenuity of modern criticism has piled upon a grave that deserves to be guarded with the tender and precious love of a nation, whose liberties he achieved, and whose fame he increased by unequalled genius and virtue.

Henry Grattan was the man of his age; he consummated in a few years, what Flood, who was a greater statesman, but neither so great a man, nor so great an orator, had worked for half a life to effect.

The 19th of April, 1780, was the day selected by Grattan to crown the triumph of the principles of Swift, of Molyneux, and Lucas. On that great day, he took possession of the heritage of their wisdom, and gave form to their noblest conceptions. Every exertion had been made to impede him in his career; he had been treated as a Phaëton rashly meddling with the chariot of the sun; he was described as a madman.\* But with wise passion he scanned the future, he decided that no time was to be given to the enemies of his country, and his assault upon old usurpation, was one full of brilliancy, fire, and wisdom. No greater day, none of more glory ever rose upon this country, than that which dawned upon the senate house of Ireland, on the 19th of April, 1780. The dull chronicles of the time, and the meagre press which then represented popular opinion, are filled with details of the circumstances under which Grattan brought forward his Declaration of Right. They were circumstances certainly unequalled in our history, of military splendour and moral triumph. The streets around the Attic temple of legislation were thronged with the disciplined numbers of the Volunteers, and the impatient multitude of the people. The uniforms of the Irish army, the gaudy orange, the brilliant scarlet, and the chaster and more national green—turned up with different facings, according to the tastes of the various corps—contrasted gaily with the dark background of the civilian mass, that watched with eager eyes the extraordinary scene. Over the heads of the crowd floated the banners of the Volunteers, with the watchwords of freedom and political regeneration worked in gold or silver on a ground of blue, green, or white. And truly, the issue to be tried within the walls of that magnificent building, was one great in its effects, and illustrious from the character of the contending parties. It was a trial of right between two great nations—but more, it was to be either a precedent of freedom, or an argument of usurpation. Much depended on the result, not alone as to the present interests, but as to the future destinies of the country; and the great men who were engaged in conducting this controversy of liberty, were fully alive to the dignity of their parts, and fully competent to the successful discharge of the lofty mission they had undertaken.

Within the walls of the House of Commons, a scene of great in-

\* "Will no one stop that madman Grattan?" So said Burke.

terest presented itself to the eye. The galleries were thronged with women of the first fashion, beautiful, elegantly dressed, and filled with animated interest in the anticipated triumphs of an eloquence to which the place was sacred. Scattered through the House, were several officers of the Volunteers; for a considerable number of the members held commissions in that great body. But the chief attractions of the House, were those distinguished men who were upon that day to make the noblest chapter in the history of Ireland—men celebrated beyond those of almost any age for the possession of the highest of man's qualities, eloquence, wit, statesmanship, political wisdom, and unbounded knowledge. There were to be seen and heard there that day, the graceful and eloquent Burgh—the intrepid advocate, the consummate orator, the immaculate patriot, John Philpot Curran—the wise statesman, Flood—and the founder of Irish liberty, who watched it in its cradle, and who followed it to its grave, Grattan. Amongst the spectators, were Lifford the Chancellor, whose voice had negatived every liberty, and denied every concession—Charlemont, the truest of patriots, but the worst of statesmen—and Frederick, the Earl of Bristol and the Bishop of Derry, whose coronet and mitre could not keep down the ambition of a tribune, nor conceal the finest qualities of a demagogue. All eyes were turned to Grattan. He, not lightly and without consideration, but after much forecast, care, and anxious thought, having undertaken his great duty, thus described its effects:—

“Along the banks of that river, amid the groves and bowers of Swift and Vanessa,\* I grew convinced that I was right; arguments unanswerable came to my mind, and what I then prepared confirmed me in my determination to persevere; a great spirit arose among the people, and the speech which I delivered afterwards in the House, communicated its fire and impelled them on; the country caught the flame, and it rapidly extended. I was supported by eighteen counties, by the grand jury addresses, and the resolutions of the Volunteers; I stood upon that ground, and was determined never to yield. I brought on the question on the 19th of April, 1780. That was a great day for Ireland—that day gave her liberty.

After a speech of consummate power, in which he imparted to the doctrines of freedom a more spiritual cast than they had yet assumed in Ireland, he moved his three resolutions. 1st, That his most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to enact laws to bind Ireland. 2nd, That the Crown of Ireland is, and ought to be inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain. 3rd, That Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united under one Sovereign, by the common and indissoluble ties of interest, loyalty, and freedom. His resolutions were seconded by Robert Stewart, the father of the man who, of all others, was most active in destroying the great fabric of freedom, which Henry Grattan commenced upon that day to rear. He was opposed by Foster and Fitzgibbon; and to show how completely

\* At Celbridge Abbey, the scene of the love of the Dean and Miss Vanhomrigh.

Irish freedom was the child of arms, the latter attacked the Volunteers as a giddy faction, which dealt in violence and clamour. He felt that Grattan was, indeed, fortified by the resolutions of the armed citizens, and accordingly was liberal of invective against them. Yet, Fitzgibbon represented himself as an enemy to the usurpations of England. It was singular, that on this occasion, Flood was opposed to bringing forward the question of Irish liberty. He thought that the time of England's distress was an improper one at which to urge the rights of Ireland. Modern patriotism has decided that Ireland's best opportunity is the hour of England's greatest embarrassment. There is a great deal of chivalry, but probably little wisdom in the generous abstinence of the oppressed—there is no safe postponement in the assertion of freedom. Ninety-nine members voted for Grattan's resolutions; but by a compromise, which is difficult enough to understand, there was no entry on the journals, and thus the principle received conveniently but not formally the sanction of the legislature. This was something—the constitutional doctrines of Molyneux, Swift, and Lucas, triumphed over the habitual corruption and servility of the parliament, over the intrigues of the minister, and the prejudices of the Monarch. For it was well known, that so averse was the king of England to the liberties of Ireland, so little had he learned from the disasters of America, that he instructed his minister to prevent the transmission to England, of any bill or parliamentary document containing the assertion of the principles of legislative independence. But this was a task beyond the powers of the Viceroy. Freedom spoke loudly; she should be heard, and was.

The concessions of Lord North, and the triumph of Grattan, compelled the people and the parliament to an onward movement. If the minister expected that by yielding a free trade, which the same power that bestowed might take away, he was allaying the virtuous ferment of the nation, he was much deceived. Their success in extracting the freedom of exporting and importing fired them with the high ambition of obtaining a perfect political liberty, and Grattan moved his resolutions of Right, in obedience to the dictates of his own wisdom, and to the loud demands of the country. But they were not satisfied with the acquisition of commercial freedom, or the formal sanction of the legislature to the principles of free parliaments; they determined to take the control of the army into their hands, by limiting the Mutiny Bill. They reflected that internal peace was preserved, and a complete defence against foreign aggression ensured by the voluntary military association of the country; and it appeared a gross and unnecessary violation of the spirit of national liberty to give to the government an unrestricted discretion over a standing army. But it was a greater violation of the new principles which had gained ground in Ireland, that the army raised for the defence of the country was not governed by laws made here, but by the Mutiny Bill of England. The House of Commons, however, to the great indignation of the nation, adopted the English Mutiny Act, which was perpetual, by a majority of 52. But the decision of the legislature was inoperative where the magistrates refused to execute the provisions of the Act.

They would not commit persons brought before them for desertion, but in every way lent their authority to defeat the operation of English legislation. Gentlemen declared in the house, that they would not, as jurors, magistrates, or in any other capacity, permit the British Mutiny Act to be enforced. The retainers of government were afraid that the army would be dissolved ; the Lord Lieutenant was anxious to allow an Irish limited Mutiny Bill to pass ; but the dogged and unteachable obstinacy of the king persisted in opposing it by every means. He considered that permitting an Irish bill to pass, whilst an English bill was in existence, was a virtual alteration of the constitution, as it rested on the convenient basis of dependence on England ; and he vainly imagined that by opposing the bill, and insisting on carrying out the provisions of the English act, he would stay the popular will, on the important and engrossing subject of legislative independence. But Gervase Parker Bushe, a man of superior talents and patriotism, introduced his bill and carried it by a great majority. It was sent to England, and again returned with an alteration making it perpetual. The house was appalled ; its best and bravest spirits stood aghast—and even Burgh declared that “all was over ; that Ireland was borne down, and that it was not possible for her to resist the tyranny of Great Britain.” But the spirit of the Volunteers neither faltered nor drooped. On them, and on them alone, rested the protection of the country from the despotism of England. Grattan had virtually cast upon them the honourable duty of rescuing the sinking liberties of Ireland. He asked indignantly, shall these things be done, whilst the Volunteers were daily reviewing and parading ? And they acted on the hint. With increased activity they set about renewing and completing their organization. They raised Lord Charlemont to the dignity of Commander-in-Chief, and decided on a series of general reviews through Ireland. The feeling in Dublin was unequivocally expressed, at a quarterly meeting of the Dublin Volunteers, held at the Eagle Tavern in Eustace street, over which the Duke of Leinster presided, by the following resolutions :—

“ Resolved, That Great Britain and Ireland are, and ought to be *inseparably* connected, by being under the dominion of the *same* king, and enjoying *equal* liberty and *similar* constitutions.

“ That it is the duty of every good citizen to maintain the connection of the two countries, and the *freedom* and *independence* of this kingdom.

“ That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland *only* are competent to make laws, *binding* the subjects of this realm ; and that *we will not obey*, or give operation to *any laws*, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, *jointly* and *severally* we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes.

“ Signed, by order,  
“ FRANCIS DAVIS, Sec.”

Lord Charlemont, in replying to the address communicating to them his election as Commander-in-Chief, states with so much clear-

ness and perspicuity the position occupied by the Volunteers, the services they had rendered, and the spirit which animated them, that it is here presented in full as a perfect vindication of "that illustrious, adored, and abused body of men."\*

GENTLEMEN—You have conferred on me an honour of a very new and distinguished nature,—to be appointed, without any solicitation on my part, the reviewing-general of an independent army, *raised by no other call than that of public virtue*. An army which costs nothing to the State, and has produced every thing to the nation, is what no other country has it in her power to bestow. Honoured by such a delegation, I obeyed it with cheerfulness. The inducement was irresistible; I felt it the duty of every subject to forget impediments which would have stood in the way of a similar attempt in any other cause.

I see with unspeakable pleasure the progress of your discipline, and the increase of your associations; the indefatigable, steady, and extraordinary exertions, to which I have been a witness, afford a sufficient proof that, in the formation of an army, public spirit, a shame of being outdone, and the ambition to excel, *will supply the place of reward and punishment—can levy an army, and bring it to perfection.*

The pleasure I feel is increased, when I reflect that your associations are not the fashion of a day, but the settled purpose and durable principle of the people; from whence I foresee, that the advantages lately acquired will be ascertained and established, and that solid and permanent strength will be added to the empire.

I entirely agree in the sentiment you express with regard to the exclusive authority of the legislature of this kingdom. I agree also in the expediency of making the assertion; it is no more than the law will warrant, and the real friends of both nations subscribe.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your most obliged, faithful, and obedient humble servant,

July 15, 1780.

CHARLEMONT.

The provincial reviews which followed the election of Lord Charlemont, were intended to convey significantly to the minister the readiness of an armed nation to second the propositions of their leaders in parliament. Lord Charlemont visited Belfast to review the Ulster regiments, and was attended by Sir Annesley Stewart and Grattan as his Aide-de-Camps. He was met at Hillsborough by Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Stewart, afterwards the Marquis of Londonderry. His arrival at Belfast on the 11th of July was announced by a salute of seven guns from the artillery, which was answered by the ships in the harbour, and the three Belfast companies were drawn up to receive him. On the 12th the several companies paraded at nine in the morning, and marched to the field selected for the review about a mile and a half from the town. The account of this review, as fully illustrating the nature of these matters, I have extracted nearly verbatim from contemporary sources, conceiving that the readers of this narrative will thus obtain a clearer notion than from any description by the present writer.

The field selected for the Review extends near half an English mile in length, and is intersected by a rivulet, on the west side of which the line was formed. The line consisted of 1400 men, divided into four battalions. The remaining body, consisting of nearly the same number, was distributed around the field to keep the ground clear. The spectators occupied a hill, which rises with a gentle ascent from the field, in such a manner that 50,000 persons of both sexes were delighted with a complete view of whatever was done, without confusion or danger. On the most central part of the hill there were boxes erected, which accommodated near a thousand persons with seats. The general was received by the discharge of cannon, and

\* Curran.

passed along the line, which from the choice of the men, the uniformity of their dress, and the perfection of their appointments in every particular, was no less a subject of wonder than exultation, to those who examined it most critically. The performance of the men did not belie their appearance. They executed their motions with steadiness, their firings with exactness—and whether they advanced in line, formed, or reduced columns, or marched in divisions, by battalions, and companies, they equally exceeded the most sanguine hopes of their most decided friends. When the common firings, manœuvres and evolutions were over, a mock engagement was executed, in which the four battalions who had hitherto remained spectators, were to attack and defeat those already reviewed. The plan was admirably adapted to the nature of the ground.

The attack was made from the opposite side of the river to that where the line stood; here the ground, swelling into a hill, exhibited the troops formed for the attack, at the same time with those to be attacked, in the most picturesque point of view. The movements of the attacking troops, the well directed and well supported fire on both sides, the fording the river, and passing the bridge, the forming in line after passing the river, the manœuvres to outflank the enemy, the partial retreat of the yielding army, and the final success of a well-planned scheme of attack, altogether exhibited as perfect an image of war as can well be conceived. The spectators, as well as the soldiers, for a moment seemed to be possessed by the ardour, the hopes, and fears, which attend a real action. This added much to the spirit and effect; it luckily added nothing to the danger. It is difficult to say which called most for admiration, the spectacle, or the spectators? Three thousand men in arms, steady, uniform, obedient, *breathing the spirit of loyalty and liberty!* or thirty thousand spectators, building their hopes of peace and security on the skill and activity displayed by their neighbours, friends, and children, in the field; obliged to admire those whom they had always loved; and entitled to commend the very persons whose merit reflected honour on themselves! In that vast multitude not a man disturbed the general harmony, by any act of indecency or violence. At seven o'clock in the evening the troops marched back to town, after having been nine hours under arms.

The 13th, the troops marched again to the field, when those who had kept the lines the preceding day passed in review before the general; and in the engagement which succeeded, were attacked and routed by those battalions which they had before attacked and defeated. The merit of the two days was equal, but the concourse of people on the last was vastly greater. Among the persons of distinction present was my Lord Camden, who seemed to be affected with the same pleasure which possessed every friend to the house of Hanover, and to those principles which that illustrious house was called over to assert. They saw before them a body of men, ready to spill the last drop of their blood in maintaining the dignity and independence of the crown, and liberties of the empire.\*

\* Belfast Politics; History of Belfast; and several local newspapers. The troops reviewed were as follows:—

Singular misrepresentations were circulated about this period on the subject of the available force of the Volunteers. And as will be always the case, where the money of government can command the venal crew of writers, the most elaborate falsehood and the most insulting ridicule were poured upon the heads of those by whose exertions the national cause was so nobly maintained. In *Lloyd's Evening Post*, an article appeared on the 7th of July, stating that the numbers of the Volunteers had been monstrously exaggerated; that no call could bring into the field twenty thousand men—that persons of all ages were enrolled and put on paper—that every gentleman belonged to two, and most of them to five or six different corps, and that by this ubiquity and divisibility of persons, the muster rolls of the companies were swelled. Doubtlessly, there was some exaggeration in the representation of the numbers occasionally made: but a competent authority commenting on this article, states, that at this time there were 95,000 effective men ready to take the field.\* Allowing a little for exaggeration, and comparing this statement with the representations in the letters of the Lord Lieutenant to the English Secretary of State, and those made at the time in parliament, we may conclude that there were, at the lowest computation, 50,000 Volunteers armed and disciplined within a year of their first embodiment. Barrington says there were eighty thousand. Take any of these statements, and it will appear that a powerful army existed at this time in Ireland, contemporaneously with the army of the government, under its own military system, with its officers, banners, mottoes, and fired with a principle of its own. It was an interesting—it might have been a glorious juncture—but prudence on the one side, and fear upon the other, preserved the English dominion in Ireland. The conduct of the officials to the Volunteers was elaborately polite—they caballed against them in private, and extolled their virtue in public—and one incident shows that they had not the courage, where they had the will, to strike. A troop of horse in the king's service, met at right angles on Essex-bridge, with some Volunteer artillery, commanded by Lord Altamont. The position was embarrassing—

## FIRST BRIGADE.

First Battalion	-	-	-	-	-	Banks, commander	-	-	302
Second	-	-	-	-	-	Saunders	-	-	311
Third	-	-	-	-	-	P. Stewart	-	-	336
Fourth	-	-	-	-	-	Colonel Dawson	-	-	306

Total - - - 1255

## SECOND BRIGADE.

First Battalion	-	-	-	-	-	Colonel Stewart	-	-	406
Second	-	-	-	-	-	Colonel Brownlow	-	-	328
Third	-	-	-	-	-	Brown	-	-	339
Fourth	-	-	-	-	-	Major M'Manus	-	-	373

Total - - - 1446

Two Brass Field-pieces, Six-pounders, of Belfast— <i>Train</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
Newry Horse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30
General Knox's Troop	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25

Grand Total - - - 2788

\* *Freeman's Journal*, July 18, 1780.

both parties continued to advance—a collision appeared inevitable. Which party was “to go to the wall?” Lord Altamont, with a spirit worthy of his name and country, ordered his men to advance with bayonets inclined ready to defend their line; but the genius of prudence prevailed with the English officer, who halted his troop and allowed the Volunteers to march past his humbled legion.\*

It is now equally painful and useless to speculate on the results which might have sprung from the shedding of one drop of Irish blood on that strange occasion. It would make a rare chapter in the history of things which might have been; but etiquette was never waived with more political and permanent advantage than by the gentleman who commanded the soldiers of the government that day. The circumstances attracted general attention, and served to illustrate fully the relative position occupied by two armies in the same kingdom, embodied under principles so widely different and so naturally hostile. Nor were the proceedings of the Volunteers likely to allay the alarms of government. The officers who had been present at one of the provincial reviews had adopted resolutions which were approved of by several other corps, and which propounded a code of politics which must have alarmed government not a little. The parliament had chosen to invade the liberty of the press, and to direct the prosecution of the printer of some stringent resolutions, adopted by the Merchants’ corps of Volunteers, August 17th, at the Royal Exchange, to be proceeded with. Some of the more violent members denounced these resolutions as “false, scandalous, and libellous;” but they went no further than wreaking their anger in denunciation and abuse. Whereupon, the northern corps adopted the resolutions already referred to, and which were highly condemnatory of the proceedings of parliament on the subject of the press.† They denounced the adoption by the legislature of the altered Mutiny Bill, which substantially deprived the country of that immediate and effectual control over the army, which they considered as necessary to the freedom of Great Britain and Ireland. They asserted that the influence of the crown was increasing and ought to be diminished. They expressed the firm determination of the northern regiments to persevere in

\* Barrington gives a graphic account of this transaction; but there are other authorities for the statement in the text.

† These resolutions received the sanction of the following corps:—

Oriel First Volunteers	-	-	Captain Francis Evans.
Oriel Second, do.	-	-	Captain Michael Wright.
Tullyhappy, do.	-	-	Captain James Dawson.
Lisdrumhure, do.	-	-	Captain John Ingram.
Tyrone Ditches and Acton, do.	-	-	Major Francis Dobbs.
Clare, do.	-	-	Captain Alex. Patton.
Armagh First, do.	-	-	Captain Samuel Maxwell.
Lislooney, do.	-	-	Captain Harris.
Sheepbridge, do.	-	-	Captain William Gordon.
Rathfriland, do.	-	-	Captain Samuel Barber.
Banbridge, do.	-	-	Captain James Law.
Lisburn Fusileers	-	-	Captain W. Todd Jones.
Rakenny True Blues	-	-	Secretary James Deane.
Newry Troop of Rangers	-	-	Captain Thomas Benson.
Newry First Volunteers	-	-	Captain Joseph Pollock.
Newry Third, do.	-	-	Captain David Bell.

the use of arms, and to recommend the same resolution to their brethren in every part of the country, and they promise that the Volunteers will undergo any toil or labour, to prevent the necessity of submitting to the perpetual establishment of martial law.

At the same period the provinces determined on a great review, to take place in the May of the following year, 1781, previous to which, at a meeting held at the Royal Exchange on the 10th of November, the following resolutions were adopted unanimously by a number of the Volunteer corps.\*

“ Resolved unanimously,—That, preparatory to a provincial review, it will be expedient to have three reviews, at three of the most convenient places in said province.

“ That the first of the said reviews be held at Dublin, on Tuesday, the 5th of June next; and it is recommended that the second be held at Bellew’s-town, in the county of Meath, on the 1st of July next; and the third, at Carlow, on the 1st of August.

“ That deputies from such corps as choose to attend the first of said reviews, do meet at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, the 2nd of February next, at one o’clock, to appoint a reviewing general, and an exercising officer, and to transact such other business as shall be necessary.”

It was fortunate for the reputation of the Volunteers, and for the purpose of establishing their fidelity to the original principle of their body, that in the summer of 1781, in the very heat of their anxious pursuit of liberty, the shores of Ireland were again threatened with invasion. America was lost—the trade in the Channel was menaced by the fleets of the enemy—the vessels which went between England and Ireland were placed under the protection of convoys—thirty-four sail of the combined fleet were in the Channel and hovered around the southern coast of Ireland. Again the Volunteers stood forward and offered their services to protect the country. The offer was accepted, because it was not safe to refuse it; but it was accepted in the same ungracious spirit in which government had treated the body since its first institution. The Lord Lieutenant’s reply was civil, generalizing, and cold, and not such as might be justly expected at a time when a hundred thousand armed men, in whose hands the liberties of Ireland and the supremacy of England were placed, came forward and tendered themselves as a bulwark against an expected enemy. The delegates of 125 corps of Volunteers, all of them men of rank and character, waited on the Lord Lieutenant with offers of service “in such manner as shall be thought necessary for the safety and pro-

\* The following regiments and troops sent deputies to this meeting:—

(Colonel Hayes in the chair.) County Dublin Light Dragoons; Rathdown Light Dragoons; Rathdown Carbineers; Dublin Light Horse; Union Light Dragoons; Cavalry of Arlington Legion; Independent Wicklow Horse; Meath Light Dragoons; Curragh Rangers; Kilkenny Rangers; Naas Rangers; Naas Light Infantry; Ralph’s Dale Grenadiers; Skreen Volunteers; Slane, Duleek, Drogheda, and Dundalk corps of Infantry; Rathdown Infantry, county of Dublin; Rathdown Infantry, county of Wicklow; Independent Wicklow Foresters; Rockingham Volunteers; Talbotstown Invincibles; Dunlavin Independents; Aldborough Legion; Wexford Independents; Longford Infantry; Newcastle and Donore Union Volunteers; South Coolock; North Coolock Volunteers; Upper Cross Fuzileers; Dublin Volunteers; Goldsmiths’, Lawyers’, Merchants’, Liberty, and Independent Dublin Volunteers.

tection of the kingdom." In reply, the Lord Lieutenant said, "I have ever placed the most unbounded confidence in the loyalty and attachment of *all* his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom to his Majesty's person and government; and I receive with particular pleasure these early and spirited offers of service, of which I shall think it my duty to avail myself, in the fullest extent, if either the events of war or further intelligence should make it expedient to have recourse to them." It is singular, that in addressing the delegates of 125 corps of Volunteers, the word Volunteer does not occur; and the same delicacy, with regard to the armed protectors of the country, is observable in almost all the private despatches and public documents of the weak and unprincipled government of the day.\*

If the success of the first attempt at obtaining a Bill of Right impelled the Volunteers to active measures, it was not without a corresponding, but a wonderfully different effect, upon government. The despatches of Lord Buckingham to Lord North, are evidences of a system of bribery, so general and so profuse, that nothing could bear comparison with it, but the worse corruption by which the Union was carried. Between September 8th, 1780, and November 19th of the same year, the Lord Lieutenant forwarded several despatches to the English minister, in which he recommends over one hundred men of rank and fortune, and some of their wives, to rewards for past services, or to bribes for prospective services. Sir Robert Deane, an uniform and laborious drudge, impeded by no conscience and burthened by no principle, who, as his viceregal eulogist remarks, always with *firm friends* supported government and never *suggested a difficulty*, was recommended for a peerage. Several other men with similar services to parade, with just the same degree of conscience or principle, had their claims for degraded honour allowed by the Lord Lieutenant.† In such a way were the functions of government then

\* At a meeting of the Belfast Volunteers, held in Belfast, 10th September, 1781, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved unanimously, That in the present alarming crisis of public affairs, when a hostile fleet is hovering upon our coasts, we deem it necessary to put ourselves immediately in such a condition as may enable us, should occasion require, to take the field with expedition and effect.

Ordered, That the Treasurer do, with all possible despatch, provide camp equipage sufficient for the whole company, with 10,000 ball cartridge, and every other requisite that may appear necessary for the above purpose.

† The sources of patrician honours in Ireland, it is much to be regretted, are very impure and tainted. From this censure must of course be excepted the ancient aristocracy of the land, in whose veins still runs an honourable stream, uncontaminated by the impurity of the Cromwellian, or Williamite, or Union creation. The successive creations in Cromwell's and William's time, and at the Union, deepen in infamy as they approach our own days. The parties recommended for *honours* in Lord Buckingham's profligate despatches, some of whose names are inserted in this note, have different qualifications: one is poor, another who is rich has poor relations. There is no political profligate, however wealthy or embarrassed, that is not recommended for promotion or pay, in his own person or in that of some convenient relative. Amongst the rest, Lords Mountcashel, Enniskillen, Carlow, and Farnham, are recommended for earldoms. In the general recommendations are the names of James Chrigne Ponsonby, Charles Henry Cooke, Francis Bernard Beamish, Ponsonby Tottenham, James Somerville, William Caulfield, Thomas Nesbitt, Sir Boyle Roche, Dame Jane Heron, and other honourable persons. The following is curious; it is in a letter to Lord Hillsborough from the Lord Lieutenant:—

"With respect to the noblemen and gentlemen whose requests have not succeeded, I must say that no man can see the inconvenience of increasing the number of peers more forcibly than myself, but the recommendations of many of those persons submitted to his

discharged. Lord Buckingham, who endeavoured to suppress the Volunteers by every pretence, by cabals and intrigue—whose whole career was one, the aim of which was the destruction of liberty and the suppression of all efforts to raise the condition of this country, has (fortunately for the instruction of posterity) left under his own base hand the evidence of his turpitude and the corruption of his government. His despatches in these two months (September and October, 1780,) are extant, and should be rendered familiar reading to all those who are disposed to trust the integrity and promises of English statesmen.\*

But it was in vain that the profuse fountains of corruption were let loose upon the parliament. It is true they did their work within the walls; and the nation and its legislature stood in direct opposition. Indeed, the people came to look upon the parliament as its only enemy; but, even in the house, there were some men who were above all bribe, and unattainable by any influence. Grattan and Flood were still there to stem the tide of oppression and corruption; and they, with other able men, assailed the enemy in every quarter. Bradstreet brought in a bill for a Habeas Corpus, Ireland never having enjoyed that great protection; but he was defeated by the venal majority of placemen, whose presence in the House of Commons rendered it a mockery of representation. Grattan moved for liberty to introduce a Mutiny Bill. Flood was hurt, and justly, that this, which had been a favourite measure of his, had been taken out of his hands. The seeds of a rivalry, which afterwards proved destructive to the liberties of Ireland, had been sown, and were too surely ripening in the hearts of these distinguished men. Grattan's motion was supported by all the eminent men, who were his fellow-workmen in the great labour of constitutional liberty; but "the brood that gathered on the golden wheels of influence, the hirelings of prostitution," were too numerous, and leave was refused to bring in his bill by a majority of fifty-six. Upon the Volunteers, however, his reasonings were not lost. They had employed the whole year in consolidating their power and completing their organization—day by day their numbers were increasing—their aspect was more threatening—and their language was bolder. And what was of great value in rendering their attitude more noble and imposing, they had, with few exceptions, adopted a more liberal way of treating their Catholic fellow-countrymen. They had admitted them to their ranks, and had advocated their claims to legislative indulgence. There were, indeed, a few, and happily only a few, corps, in which intolerance and ancient bigotry were still preserved.

*Majesty for that honour, arose from engagements taken up at the press of the moment, to secure questions upon which the English Government were very particularly anxious. My sentiments cannot but be the same with respect to the Privy Council and pensions, and I had not contracted any absolute engagements of recommendation either to peerage or pension, till difficulties arose which necessarily occasioned so much and so forcibly communicated anxiety in his Majesty's Cabinet, that I must have been culpable in neglecting any possible means of securing a majority in the House of Commons. Mr. Townshend was particularly recommended to me by Lord Shannon for a seat in the Privy Council, and I have reason to think his lordship is extremely anxious for his success."*

\* These despatches occupy from p. 163 to 177 of the second volume of Mr. Grattan's valuable biography of his illustrious father.

An instance of this occurred in connexion with Gardiner's Catholic Relief Bill. The Sligo Volunteers, commanded by Mr. Wynne, addressed their colonel to use his efforts to defeat the measure. Their premises were the old and obsolete bigotries, which in that day of national greatness and virtue, had been nearly exploded; they advanced the theory of ascendancy whilst they professed to be the soldiers of liberty; and their example may be justly held up as a warning to those who imagine that freedom admits exceptions or can co-exist with religious intolerance. The conduct of the Sligo Volunteers is admirably rebuked, and the contrast of their professions and their intolerance delineated with great skill and severity in a series of letters in the *Freeman's Journal* of the day, beginning with the date of the 19th January, 1782.

Whilst the patriots in the commons were waging a parliamentary war for constitutional liberty, and during the whole course of the year 1781, the Volunteers were engaged in a series of splendid provincial reviews in every part of Ireland. The regiments were fully accoutried with all the camp equipage, and the furniture of the soldier. Belfast took the lead. Indeed the spirit of volunteering was no where more conspicuous than in the Ulster plantation—armed liberty walked most boldly among the scenes of former confiscation. It was a retribution to the spirit of freedom, which the descendants of those who had grown rich on former plunder, were glad to pay. The review at Belfast lasted three days; sixty thousand spectators were present, and some of the Dublin corps of Volunteer artillery had marched to the North to take part in the review. Lord Charlemont had been again elected Reviewing General, and had again paid the tribute of his admiration to the services of the national army. He said, “I behold my country fearless of invasion, formidable to her enemies, respected by England, and an object of veneration to all Europe. In this unhappy period of general confusion, I behold, *under the influence of your arms*, internal tranquillity restored, the due execution of the laws firmly established, commerce released from those unworthy chains by which she has been so long and so unjustly bound, and constitutional freedom emerging from that dark abyss into which she had been plunged by lawless and absurd oppression on the one hand, and by folly and corruption on the other.” Woe on those by whom a system, whose results are thus given, was destroyed; and pity that he who could so eloquently describe and keenly feel the benefits of a noble institution, so much lacked firmness in his own convictions, as to have permitted it to fall asunder like a rope of sand!

Yelverton's motion for a committee on Poyning's law was lost by a majority of 139 to 37. The resistance of the English interest to any inquiry on the subject of the legislative rights of Ireland was vigorous, and for a long time successful. It required, to overcome and utterly destroy the strength of the government opposition, that some measure of extraordinary vigour should be adopted by the patriot party. It was reserved for the Volunteers—the armed champions of liberty, ready for revolution as the alternative of constitutional freedom—to effect this important object. And history is not conversant

with a step more brilliant and astonishing than that which they now adopted. They had long marched towards a common end indeed, but without co-operation. Their efforts were great and energetic, but not simultaneous and combined. The defect was remedied by the Dungannon Convention. An armed people speaking by delegation, their valour and their wisdom represented in a warlike parliament, with a hundred thousand swords ready to work the will of their chosen delegates was a phenomenon which struck terror to the heart of England.

On the 28th of December, 1781, the officers and delegates of the Ulster first regiment, commanded by Lord Charlemont, assembled at Belfast to take into consideration the state of the country and the prospects of the national cause. Considering what little attention the corrupt majority of the House of Commons had paid to the constitutional rights of Ireland, they invited the Volunteer regiments of Ulster to assume the functions virtually abdicated by parliament, and to send delegates to deliberate on the alarming situation of public affairs. They fixed upon the 15th February, 1782, for the intended convention, and Dungannon as the theatre of the warlike delegation.

Dungannon is the chief town of the county of Tyrone. It is seated on an eminence looking over Lough Neagh. A castle of Hugh O'Neill, the last great dynast of that noble house, had been built on the declivity where the modern town was raised, and on the same hill numerous ancient edifices of piety had stood.\* It was intended that a pyramid commemorative of the Convention should have been erected on the hill; but the results of that brilliant assembly were too short-lived. The pyramid would have perpetuated a splendid failure, and have been the enduring monument of a glory that passed away too quickly. It was wise to have left unerected the memorial of short-lived liberty.

Of the resolutions which were prepared for the adoption of the military delegates, the first was composed by Grattan and the second by Flood. Mr. Dobbs was just about to start for the convention when Grattan, the unchanging friend of the Roman Catholics, thrust into his custody the resolution in their favour, which afterwards passed at Dungannon, with only two dissenting intolerant voices; and, as Mr. Grattan says, he went the harbinger of peace, and returned the herald of liberty. But both the peace and the liberty were of brief duration.

On the 15th February, 1782, the delegates met. There is no similar assembly recorded in history, whether we consider the importance of the subject of their deliberations, the power they possessed, or the moderation with which they used it. They were the representatives of thirty thousand armed men; they had full credentials to deliberate and to decide for a great army; their voice would have called a nation to war, and thrown two great countries into desperate collision. Had they chosen that mode of action, which many amongst them might have secretly thought the path of wisdom, as the path of

\* Camden's Britannia, vol. 3, p. 636. When Hugh was preparing for war on Elizabeth, he imported great quantities of lead, as if for the purpose of roofing his castle, but in reality for bullets.—Stuart's Armagh, 268.

honour, the result on the destinies of England would have been perilous indeed.

We cannot doubt the issue of a war. A national army composed of the flower of a bold and valiant people, treading their native and familiar soil, fighting for home and liberty, commanded by the most distinguished men in the country, numerous and disciplined, and impatient for the field; no mercenary soldiers whose mean incentive was pay, and plunder, and rapine, and hereditary hatred, could have withstood their glorious onslaught! A thousand memories of glory or of suffering—old and honourable traditions—and the new ardour for liberty would have fired the soldiers of the land and made their arms invincible. But other, and perhaps wiser, councils ruled the leaders of the Volunteers, whose issue is well known.

The church of Dungannon was chosen for the convention of the delegates. On the memorable 15th February, 1782, the representatives of the regiments of Ulster—one hundred and forty-three corps—marched to the sacred place of meeting two and two, dressed in their various uniforms and fully armed. Deeply they felt the great responsibilities which had been committed to their prudence and courage; but they were equal to their task, and had not lightly pledged their faith to a trustful country. The aspect of the church, the temple of religion, in which nevertheless no grander ceremony was ever performed, was imposing, or, it might be said, sublime. Never, on that hill where ancient piety had fixed its seat, was a nobler offering made to God than this, when two hundred of the elected warriors of a people assembled in His tabernacle, to lay the deep foundations of a nation's liberty. Colonel Irwin, a gentleman of rank, a man, firm and cautious, of undoubted courage but great prudence, presided as chairman. The following resolutions were then passed:—

“Whereas, it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or political men.

“Resolved, unanimously, That a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.

“Resolved, unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“Resolved, with one dissenting voice only, That the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under, or under colour, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“Resolved, unanimously, That the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the King; and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

“Resolved, with one dissenting voice only, That a Mutiny Bill not limited in point of duration, from session to session, is unconstitutional, and a grievance.

“Resolved, unanimously, That the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland

as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional and a grievance.

“Resolved, with eleven dissenting voices only, That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

“Resolved, with one dissenting voice only, That the right honourable and honourable the Minority in parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

“Resolved, unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz. :—

Lord Viscount Enniskillen,  
 Col. Mervyn Archdall,  
 Col. William Irvine,  
 Col. Robt. M'Clintock,  
 Col. John Ferguson,  
 Col. John Montgomery,  
 Col. Charles Leslie,  
 Col. Francis Lucas,  
 Col. Thos. M. Jones,  
 Col. James Hamilton,  
 Col. Andrew Thomson,  
 Lieut.-Col. C. Nesbitt,  
 Lieut.-Col. A. Stewart,  
 Major James Patterson,  
 Major Francis Dobbs,  
 Major James M'Clintock,

Major Charles Duffen,  
 Capt. John Harvey,  
 Capt. Robert Campbell,  
 Capt. Joseph Pollock,  
 Capt. Waddel Cunningham,  
 Capt. Francis Evans,  
 Capt. John Cope,  
 Capt. James Dawson,  
 Capt. James Acheson,  
 Capt. Daniel Eccles,  
 Capt. Thomas Dickson,  
 Capt. David Bell,  
 Capt. John Coulson,  
 Capt. Robert Black,  
 Rev. Wm. Crawford,  
 Mr. Robert Thompson.

“Resolved, unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

“In consequence of the above resolution, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz :—

Col. Mervyn Archdall,	Capt. Francis Evans,
Col. William Irvine,	Capt. James Dawson,
Col. John Montgomery,	Capt. Joseph Pollock,
Col. Thomas M. Jones,	Mr. Robert Thompson,

Major Francis Dobbs.

“ Resolved, unanimously, That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

“ Resolved, unanimously, That the court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British Empire, in such a manner as to call upon us to declare, and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

“ Resolved, with two dissenting voices only to this and the following resolution, That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

“ Resolved, therefore, That, as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.”

Some formal resolutions followed of thanks to Lord Charlemont, to Colonel Dawson, who had been active in getting up the Convention, and to Colonel Irwin. The meeting terminated by the adoption of an address to the patriot minorities in the Lords and Commons, remarkable for its comprehensive brevity and admirable succinct eloquence :—

“ **MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN.**—We thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

“ Signed by order,

“ **WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.**”

Such were the proceedings at Dungannon. All Ireland adopted the resolutions; and meetings were held in every county formally to accept the exposition of the public mind which the Volunteers of Ulster had given. The freeholders of each county, and the grand juries adopted the resolutions.

The delegates of Connaught met in pursuance of the requisition of Lord Clanricarde; the delegates of Munster assembled at Cork under the presidency of Lord Kingsborough, and the delegates of Leinster at Dublin under that of Colonel Henry Flood.

It was in vain that the government renewed its old cabals, or made overt resistance to the progress of the Dungannon movement. The example of the North was followed in every quarter. And what is peculiarly worthy of notice in the history of the day is this, that there

was no diversity of opinion amongst the armed battalions in the different parts of the country. Such division of opinion, especially on the subject of the Catholics, might naturally have been expected ; but the result was one of great and singular unanimity on the important topics which agitated the public mind. The Dungannon resolutions constitute the charter of Irish freedom, embracing all the points necessary for the perfect independence of the country, legislative freedom, control over the army, religious equality, and freedom of trade. They are the summary of the political requisitions of the patriot party in the parliament for which they had been struggling since the days of Molynieux, for which it was vain to struggle until an armed force was ready to take the field in their behalf. And no one can read the history of this great Convention without feeling that it was virtually a declaration of war, with the alternative of full concession of all the points of the charter of liberty. The Dungannon delegates were empowered by the nation, speaking through her armed citizens, to make terms or to enforce her rights ; a hundred thousand swords were ready to obey their commands. England could not have brought into the field one-half that number ; and the rights of Ireland were virtually declared on the 15th of February. It was a marvellous moderation which contented itself with constitutional liberty in a political connection with England, and subjection to her monarch ; it would not have required another regiment to have struck off the last link of subjugation and to have established the national liberty of Ireland on a wider basis than any upon which it ever stood.

In the meantime, and whilst general liberty was approaching towards its triumph, toleration to the Roman Catholics was making large and important strides. The declaration of the Dungannon delegates, so general and so impressive, being the opinion of the whole armed delegation of Ulster with but two inglorious exceptions, had a very great effect through Ireland. It was unfortunate for the subsequent career of the Volunteers that the principles which their armed representatives propounded at Dungannon, were not adopted by some of their leading minds.—The seeds of ruin lay deep in the intolerant exception of the Catholics from the general rule of liberty. It was unwise, it was ungracious, it was impolitic. Flood and Charlemont would have raised a lofty temple to freedom, but would not have permitted the great preponderant majority of the nation to enter its gates, nay, even “to inscribe their names upon the entablature.”\* But, though some of the distinguished officers of the Volunteers would have thus withheld the blessings of liberty from their fellow-countrymen, it is to be borne in mind—and principally because much argument has been based upon the concessions granted since the Union by the united legislature to the Catholics—that the principles of enlightened liberality made a wonderfully rapid progress in our native parliament during the era of its glory.

Mr. Gardiner's Catholic Relief Bill was introduced on the 15th of February, the same day on which the Dungannon Convention met in

\* Wolfe Tone.

the church of Dungannon. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, endeavoured to defeat the measure by suggesting that it repealed the act of settlement, and disturbed Protestant titles. A good deal of alarm was created by his opinion, and time was taken to inquire into its soundness. On examination it was considered bad, and the House went into committee on the bill on the 20th of February, 1782. The measure proposed to concede to the Catholics, 1st, the enjoyment of property; 2dly, the free exercise of their religion; 3dly, the rights of education; 4thly, of marriage; and 5thly, of carrying arms. Flood supported the bill, but ungraciously laboured to establish a distinction between the rights of property and the rights of power. He said,—“Though I would extend toleration to the Roman Catholics, yet I would not wish to make a change in the state, or enfeeble the government.” This was a large measure, and after having undergone several modifications, it became law, during the viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland and the administration of the Whigs. Grattan, as might be expected, gave it his unqualified support. “I give my consent to the clause,” said he, speaking of that which extended to the Catholics the right to hold property, and which was opposed by Mr. St. George and Mr. Wynne,\* in its principle, extent, and boldness; “I give my consent to it as the most likely means of obtaining a victory over the prejudices of *Catholics and over our own*; I give my consent to it because I would not keep two millions of my fellow-subjects in a state of Slavery, and because, as the mover of the declaration of Rights, I would be ashamed of giving freedom to six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more.” Whatever merit attaches to this concession, belongs to the Irish Protestants, and not to the government, which, as Plowden says, took no part in forwarding the measure, and it is, therefore, to be considered as one of the first-fruits of the spirit of liberty which animated the Irish Parliament at that period.† The Catholics deserved whatever favour they received—when permitted to join the Volunteers they had raised regiments, and before they were admitted to military brotherhood they had largely subscribed to the necessary expenses. They might have remembered their wrongs—but, wisely for their characters and their claims, they thought only of the debt they owed their country.

On February 22nd, 1782, directly under the influences of Dungannon, and whilst its echoes were ringing through the Parliament, Grattan brought on his motion for an address to the King, declaring the rights of Ireland. His speech is a masterpiece of constitutional eloquence, but it is peculiarly fine from the abundant and noble testimony he bears to the character of the Volunteers.

“You have an immense force, the shape of a much greater of different religions, but of one political faith, kept up for three years defending the country; for the government took away her troops and consigned her defence to the people; defending the government, I say, aiding the civil power, and pledged to maintain the liberty of

\* This gentleman commanded the Sligo Volunteers.

† This view is excellently put in Mr. Barry's *Essay on the Repeal Question*, p. 33.

Ireland to the last drop of their blood. Who is this body? The Commons of Ireland! and you at the head of them; it is more—it is the society in its greatest possible description; it is the property—it is the soul of the country armed; they, for this body, have yet no adequate name. In the summer of 1780, they agree to a declaration of right; in the summer of 1781, they hear that the French are at sea, in the heat and hurricane of their zeal for liberty, they stop; without delay, they offer to march; their march waits only for the commands of the Castle: the Castle, where the sagacious courtier had abandoned his uniform, finds it prudent to receive a self-armed association; that self-armed association this age has beheld; posterity will admire—will wonder.—The delegates of that self-armed association enter the mansion of the government, ascend the steps, advance to the presence of the Lord Lieutenant, and make a tender of their lives and fortunes, with the form and reception of an authenticated establishment. A painter might here display and contrast the loyalty of a courtier with that of a volunteer; he would paint the courtier hurrying off his uniform, casting away his arms, filling his pockets with the public money, and then presenting to his sovereign naked servitude; he would paint the volunteer seizing his charters, handling his arms, forming his columns, improving his discipline, demanding his rights, and then, at the foot of the throne, making a tender of armed allegiance. He had no objection to die by the side of England; but he must be found dead with her charter in his hand."

But the time had not yet arrived, though it was near at hand, for the Irish Parliament to assent to the proposition of its own freedom. They started back reluctant from the glowing form of liberty; not even with a nation in arms behind them, and with a man of the inspired eloquence of Grattan amongst their solid ranks, could *their* valour and *his* genius triumph over the inveterate corruption and servility of that house. Grattan's motion was lost by a majority of 137 to 68. But the fate of that statesman who had long sat at the fountain head of corruption, and who ministered so liberally to the profligacy of the Irish majority—the worst minister that England ever had, with more than the corruption, and none of the integrity of Walpole—whose obstinate perseverance in principles opposed to the theory of the British constitution, lost to England the noblest member of her great confederation—was at length sealed. He was obliged to relinquish, with disgrace, the post he had held with dishonour. Defeat and disaster followed Lord North into his disgraceful retirement. He was succeeded by Lord Rockingham and Charles Fox; Lord Carlisle was recalled, and the Duke of Portland was chosen to administer the complicated affairs of Ireland. Grattan, on the 14th of March, declared that he would bring on the Declaration of Rights, and he moved, and succeeded in carrying a very unusual summons, that the house be called over on Tuesday the 16th of April next, and that the speaker do write circular letters to the members, ordering them to attend that day, *as they tender the rights of the Irish Parliament.*

The Duke of Portland made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and he was welcomed, for no good reason that the history of the times can

give, with the loudest acclamations. His arrival appeared to promise the fulfilment of all the hopes of Ireland, and he received, by anticipation, a gratitude which he never deserved. But his coming had been preceded by some of the habitual policy of his party. Letters of honied courtesy, as hollow as they were sweet, were despatched by Fox to "his old and esteemed friend the good Earl of Charlemont."\* Whig diplomacy and cunning never concocted a more singular piece of writing! He alludes with graceful familiarity to the long and pleasing friendship which had existed between them, and after a variety of compliments, begs for a postponement of the house for three weeks in order that the Duke of Portland might have an opportunity of inquiring into the opinions of Lord Charlemont, and of gentlemen of the first weight and consequence. But Fox was well aware of their opinions. They were recorded in the votes and speeches of the two houses, and in the military transactions of the Volunteers. No man knew them better than Fox. He had been in communication with the leaders of the patriot party, and was well aware of the merits of their claims. And his proposition was a feeble device to try the chapter of accidents. But Charlemont was firm, for Grattan would give "no time." The general of the Volunteers replied in terms of courteous dignity, but unwonted determination. He told the wily minister of England that the Declaration of Rights was universally looked up to as an essential and necessary preliminary to any confidence in the new administration. "We ask for our rights—our incontrovertible rights—restore them to us, and for ever unite in the closest and best rivetted bonds of affection, the Kingdom of Ireland to her beloved, though hitherto unkind sister." This was the sentimental cant of politics; but the upshot was, that the Declaration of Rights was to be moved on the 16th of April, and it was only left to the genius of intrigue to yield with assumed grace what England dared no longer withhold. No civil letters to courtly vanity—no philosophic generalities and specious promises could effect anything with Volunteer artillery. —The epistles had all the graces of Horace Walpole, and were abundant in compliments; the compliments were returned, but the Declaration was retained. Grattan, if his own wisdom could have allowed it, would not have dared to pause. He stood in the first rank—a hundred thousand men were behind him in arms—he could not hesitate. It was his glory, and his wisdom to advance. And he advanced in good earnest, nor staid his foot till it was planted on the ruins of usurpation.

On the 9th of April, Fox communicated to the House of Commons in England, the following message from the King:—

"George R., His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontent and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this house, to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment, as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. G. R."

\* Hardy's Life of Charlemont, vol. 2, p. 4.

A similar communication was made to the Irish Parliament by John Hely Hutchinson, principal secretary of state in Ireland, who, at the same time, stated that he had uniformly maintained the right of Ireland to independent and exclusive legislation, and declared that he would give his earnest support to any assertion of that right whether by vote of the house, by address, or by enactment.

A scene of still greater excitement and interest occurred on this occasion, than that which had so carried away the citizens of Dublin two years before, when Grattan first introduced the question of Irish Rights. The nation had become strong and confident by success—they had achieved free trade—their military organization had attained the greatest perfection of discipline and skill—their progress was, indeed, triumphant, “from injuries to arms;” and from arms to liberty, they had but one short step to take.—There was, therefore, great excitement through Ireland as to the issue of Grattan’s Declaration of Right, not that they apprehended failure, but that all men felt anxious to see the realization of their splendid hopes. The streets of Dublin were lined with the Volunteers—the House of Commons was a great centre, round which all the city appeared moving. Inside, rank, and fashion, and genius, were assembled; outside, arms were glistening and drums sounding. It was the commencement of a new government, and the king had sent a message of peace to Ireland.

The message was similar to that delivered to the English house, and when it had been read, Mr. George Ponsonby moved that an address should be presented, which might mean anything, and meant nothing. It was to tell His Majesty that the house was thankful for a gracious message, and that it would take into its serious consideration the discontents and jealousies which had arisen in Ireland, the causes of which should be investigated with all convenient dispatch, and be submitted to the royal justice and wisdom of His Majesty.

When this motion, very full of the solemn plausibilities of loyalty and the generalities of pretended patriotism was made, Henry Grattan rose to move his amendment. It was a moment of great interest. The success of the motion was certain, but all parties were anxious to learn the extent of the demands which Grattan was about to make. As the “herald and oracle of his armed countrymen” he moved the amendment which contained the Rights of Ireland; and confident of its success, he apostrophised his country as already free, and appealed to the memory of those great men who had first taught the doctrine of liberty which his nobler genius had realized. He moved :

“ That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message to this House, signified by His Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

“ To assure His Majesty of our unshaken attachment to His Majesty’s person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to His Majesty’s subjects of Ireland.

“ That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before His Majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure His Majesty that his

subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own—the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure His Majesty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

“To assure His Majesty, that we have seen with concern certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled ‘An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland:’ an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

“To assure His Majesty, that His Majesty’s Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland should receive the approbation of His Majesty under the seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

“To assure His Majesty, that an act, entitled ‘An act for the better accommodation of His Majesty’s forces,’ being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

“That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

“That we have the greatest reliance on His Majesty’s wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils which we see, with satisfaction, His Majesty has adopted.

“That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

“And we beg leave to assure His Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.”

The motion was carried unanimously. And thus after centuries of arduous contest, after many long toils for liberty, the country was free.

No doubt then existed that the declaration of the Irish Parliament was all sufficient to establish liberty. The resolutions of the legislature were enforced by the disciplined levies of the Volunteers, and the eloquence of the senator was rendered irresistible by the arms of the soldier.

Accordingly, on the 27th of May, the Lord Lieutenant replied to the address. The reply virtually conceded every thing demanded on the part of Ireland. It was, however, general enough, but Grattan appeared to be perfectly satisfied with its terms. He said that he understood that Great Britain gave up *in toto* every claim to authority over Ireland. Coupling the message delivered to the Irish Commons with that which was communicated to the English legislature in which a *final adjustment* was recommended, the pledge of English faith to a constitutional arrangement would appear to have been complete and unequivocal. But it is difficult to have much sympathy for the extravagant amount of gratitude awarded to the British Parliament by the leading men of the day in Ireland. They treated the rights of Ireland as though their establishment was not the work of Irishmen but the free gift of English magnanimity. And the address moved by Grattan "did protest too much." There was one clause which created some opposition on the part of Mr. Walshe, a man of considerable learning and eloquence, and of Sir Simon Bradstreet, the Recorder of Dublin. It was to this effect—"That we do assure His Majesty that no constitutional question between the two countries will any longer exist which can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain as she has approved our firmness so she may rely on our affection." There were but two dissentient voices to the address: it would have been wiser probably to have let the clause pass, it was a generality which as it afterwards turned out, was completely erroneous, bound the Parliament to nothing, and was a mere explosion of unmerited gratitude. One hundred thousand pounds, to raise twenty thousand seamen were voted for the English navy, and this was a more substantial proof of overflowing gratitude.

As guarantees to the security of Irish rights, several measures were introduced in the Irish and English legislatures. Grattan brought in a bill to punish mutiny and desertion which repealed the perpetual mutiny act, and restored to Parliament a due control over the army, and another to reverse erroneous judgments and decrees, which at the time was supposed to have settled the question of the final judicature of Ireland, and to have taken from the English Lords and Queen's Bench their usurped and appellate jurisdiction. Yelverton brought in a measure, the repeal of Poyning's law, and Charles Fox introduced a bill into the legislature for the purpose of repealing the declaratory act of the 6th of George the First. At the same time that the liberties of Ireland were thus, as it was thought, finally secured, the country was not forgetful of the signal debt they owed to him who above all others had conducted to restore her dignity and independence. Fifty thousand pounds were voted to Grattan, his friends having declined for him the larger tribute of one hundred thousand which had been first proposed, and having also refused an

insidious offer of the Phoenix Park, and the Lord Lieutenant's mansion, which had been made by Mr. Connolly, on the part of the Government.

Brief, however, was the public contentment at the issue of the great struggle, and there is not to be found in the history of any country a chapter more discreditable and fatal than that which records the divisions that sprung up amongst the patriots whose labours had effected the great revolution. It would be a painful task to investigate the motives of men whose fame is a part of our national glory, and it is left to each student of our history to draw his own conclusions from a plain statement of the facts.

It appeared to Flood, and it may be said not unreasonably, that a simple repeal of the declaratory act of George the First by England was not a sufficient security against the resumption of legislative control. His argument was intelligible enough: The 6th of George the First was only a declaratory act; a declaratory act does not make or unmake, but only declare the law; and neither could its repeal make or unmake the law. The repeal, unless there was an express renunciation of the principle—is only a repeal of the declaration, and not of the legal principle. The principle remained as before, unless it was specially renounced. Many acts had been passed by the British Parliament binding Ireland, and some of them before the declaratory act of George. The act did not legalize these statutes, it only declared that the principle of their enactment was legal—its repeal does not establish their illegality, but only repeals the declaration. Flood was historically right. In the reign of William and Mary, the English Parliament usurped the absolute right of making laws for Ireland, and in 1691 passed an act to make a fundamental alteration in the constitution of this country by excluding Roman Catholics, who were the majority of the nation, from a seat in the Lords and Commons.\* It was true, he argued, that the Irish had renounced the claim of England, but could such renunciation be equal to a renunciation by England? In any controversy could the assertion of a party in his own favour be equal to the admission of his antagonist? Fitzgibbon was of the same opinion as Flood, and both insisted on an express renunciation by England.

Grattan, on the other hand, refused the security of a British statute, and exclaimed that the people had not come to England for a charter but with a charter, and asked her to cancel all declarations in opposition to it. It must be said that Ireland had no charter. Her declaration of right was not a Bill of Rights, and Flood asked for a Bill of Rights. He was not satisfied without an express renunciation. But what guarantee against future usurpation by a future parliament was any renunciation, however strong? The true security for liberty was the spirit of the people and the arms of the Volunteers. When that spirit passed away, renunciations and statutes were no more than parchment—the faith of England remained the same as ever, unchangeable.

\* Plowden's History, vol. 2, chapter 1, paragraph 10. The act was 3 William and Mary, c. 2.

Whatever were the merits of the controversy, it was pregnant with the worst effects. The parliament adopted the views of Grattan; the Volunteers sided with Flood. A Bill of Rights, a great international compact, a plain specific deed, the statement of the claims of Ireland and the pledge of the faith of England would have been satisfactory, and it must be confessed that men were not far astray in asking for it. But unfortunately, the great minds of the day so far participated in the weaknesses of humanity as to have yielded to small impulses and to have plunged into a rivalry fatal to their country, in place of uniting their powers for the completion of a noble and glorious undertaking. It was unfortunate for their glory—it was fatal for liberty.\* Flood, though legally right in the argument, and wise in his suggestions, may unwittingly have permitted himself to be influenced by a feeling of jealousy. He had seen the laurels he had been so long earning, placed on the brow of a younger and certainly a greater man, and his dissatisfaction was an unfortunate but a natural feeling. On the other hand, Grattan, whose peculiar work was the declaration of rights, felt indignant at the imputation cast on his wisdom, and the impeachment of his policy by the measures which Flood proposed. When Flood was refused leave to bring in his Bill of Rights on the 19th of June, Grattan, who had opposed it in one of his finest speeches, moved a resolution, which appears very indefensible, “that the legislature of Ireland is independent; and that any person who shall, by writing or otherwise, maintain that a right in any other country to make laws for Ireland internally or externally exists or can be revived, is inimical to the peace of both kingdoms.” It was a strong measure to denounce as *a public enemy* the wary statesman who read futurity with more caution than himself. He withdrew his motion and substituted another; “that leave was refused to bring in said heads of a bill, because the sole and exclusive right of legislation, in the Irish Parliament in all cases, whether internally or externally, hath been already asserted by Ireland; and fully, finally, and irrevocably acknowledged by the British Parliament.”†

The opinion of the Lawyers’ corps of Volunteers was in favour of Flood’s interpretation of the constitutional relations of the two countries. They considered that repealing a declaration was not destroying a principle, and that a statute renouncing any pre-existing right, was an indispensable guarantee for future security. They appointed a committee to inquire into the question, which reported that it was necessary that an express renunciation should accompany the repeal of the 6th of George the First. Whereupon the corps of Independent

\* “It was deeply lamented that at a moment critical and vital to Ireland, beyond all former precedent, an inveterate and almost vulgar hostility should have prevented the co-operation of men, whose counsels and talents would have secured its independence. But that jealous lust for undivided honour, the eternal enemy of patriots and liberty, led them away even beyond the ordinary limits of parliamentary decorum. The old courtiers fanned the flame—the new ones added fuel to it—and the independence of Ireland was eventually lost by the distracting result of their animosities, which in a few years was used as an instrument to annihilate that very legislature, the preservation of which had been the theme of their hostilities.”—Barrington’s *Rise and Fall*, chap. xvii.

† See Grattan’s *Speeches*, vol. 1. p. 166.

Dublin Volunteers, of which Grattan was colonel, presented him with an address. They reviewed the whole argument, and ended by requesting their colonel to assist with his hearty concurrence and strenuous support the opinions propounded by a committee "chosen from the best informed body in this nation." Such an address, including at one and the same time, an approbation of the course pursued by Flood, and a request to Grattan to support the doctrines he had from the first opposed, was construed by his nice sense of honour into a dismissal from his command. He did not resign lest his regiment might construe a peremptory resignation as an offence. But he told them, that in the succession of officers, they would have an opportunity "to indulge the range of their disposition." He was, however, re-elected, nor did he lose the command until the October of the next year, when he voted against the retrenchment in the army.\* The Belfast First Volunteer company also addressed him. Doubts they said had arisen whether the repeal of the 6th of George the First, was a sufficient renunciation of the power formerly exercised over Ireland; they thought it advisable that a law should be enacted similar to the addresses which had been moved to his Majesty, and which embodied the declaration of the Rights of Ireland.† Grattan's answer was laconic, but explicit. He said he had given the fullest consideration to their suggestions: he was sorry he differed from them; he conceived their doubts to be ill-founded. With great respect to their opinions, and unalterable attachment to their interest, he adhered to the latter. They received a different answer from Flood, whom they admitted as a member of their corps. Similar circumstances occurring in different other regiments, conduced to foster the evil passions of those two distinguished men, until they broke out into a disgraceful and virulent personal dispute. But there were worse consequences attending this unfortunate quarrel. Men whose united talents and zeal would have rendered secure the edifice of their joint labours, and the monument of their glory, were prompted to the adoption of different lines of policy. Grattan refused to advance. Flood was all for progress. Had both united to reform the constitution, and to secure its permanence, that event, which eventually put a period to the existence of the legislature of Ireland, would never have occurred. A decision in the Court of King's Bench of England, by Lord Mansfield, in an Irish case brought there by appeal, seemed to affirm the arguments, and to give weight to the objections of Flood. Mr. Townshend, in introducing in the English Commons, the Renunciation Bill, (January, 1783,) said that doubts were entertained as to the sufficiency of the Simple Repeal, and had been increased by a late decision in the Court of King's Bench, which, however, he was informed, the court was bound to give, the case having come under its cognizance before any question as to the appellate jurisdiction in Irish matters had been raised. He then moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or may arise, concerning the

\* The motion for retrenchment was made by Sir Henry Cavendish, October 28, 1783.  
 † The History of Belfast, p. 209.

exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his Majesty's courts in Ireland from being received, heard, or adjusted in any of his Majesty's courts in this kingdom ; and that Mr. Townshend, General Conway, Mr Pitt, Mr. William Grenville, and the Attorney and Solicitor General do bring in the bill." The motion passed without a division, and the Renunciation Bill was the result. This vindicated the correctness of Flood's reasoning—it did not afford any additional security to liberty. A solemn international compact, and internal reform of parliament were still required to render secure and indefeasible the settlement of '82. It is a matter of serious and grave regret, that Grattan did not take the same leading part in obtaining parliamentary reform, and relieving the legislature from internal influence, as he did in emancipating it from foreign control. He would have been a safe counsellor to the Volunteers ; and had it been found advisable and consistent with the spirit of the constitution, to appeal to another assembly of armed delegates, it would have met under better auspices than the Dublin Convention of 1783—nor would it have terminated so ignominiously. But he was influenced by weaker counsels ; and, admitting that no evil passion of any kind was busy with him, we are forced to believe that he allowed his manly judgment to be swayed by inferior and timid minds. Reform was plainly necessary to the completion of his own labours. The House of Commons did not represent the people, nor did its construction give any guarantee for the security of popular liberties. Such a body might be forced into great and extraordinary virtue, as it was in '82 ; under such unusual influences, with the Volunteers in arms throughout the whole country, and men like Grattan, Burgh, and Flood amongst them, they were unable to resist the tide that was flowing ; but there was no principle of stability in them, they were irresponsible and corrupt. Reform was the obvious corollary of the Declaration of Right. Had the framers of the constitution of '82, united to consolidate and secure their own work, and ceased from the insane contentions by which they disgraced their success ; had they given a popular character to the legislature which they freed from external control, and converted it into the veritable organ of the national will, by conferring extensive franchises on the people, by including the Catholics in their scheme, and putting an end to the system of close boroughs, it would have been impossible for any English minister, without a war, whose issue would have been doubtful, to destroy the legislative existence of the country by an union. And this they could have done. The Volunteers were still in force. One hundred thousand men were in arms, and had urgently pressed upon their leaders the insufficiency of their work : they had demanded reform in every provincial meeting\*—at Belfast, on the 9th of June, 1783, a

\* Towards the end of 1782, the government set on foot a plan whose design was obvious enough—the embodying of Fencible regiments. The Volunteers took fire, and held meetings to oppose it in every quarter. Galway took the initiative, and was followed by Dublin and Belfast. The resolution passed at the Tholsel, in Galway, on the 1st of September, 1782, to the effect that the Volunteers were most interested in the defence of the country, and most adequate to the duty—that raising Fencible regiments without sanction

meeting of delegates from thirty-eight corps of Volunteers assembled after a review, and adopted the following resolution :—

“ Resolved unanimously, That at an era so honourable to the spirit, wisdom, and loyalty of Ireland, a **MORE EQUAL REPRESENTATION** of the people in parliament deserves the deliberate attention of every Irishman ; as that alone which can perpetuate to future ages the inestimable possession of a free constitution. In this sentiment, we are happy to coincide with a late dicision of the much respected Volunteer army of the province of Munster ; as well as with the opinion of that consummate statesman, the late Earl of Chatham ; by whom it was held a favourite measure for checking venality, promoting public virtue, and restoring the native spirit of the constitution.”

Similar meetings were had, and similar resolutions adopted in every part of Ireland. If the spirit of the Volunteers had been wisely directed, and their exertions turned into the proper channel, there seems to be no reason to doubt that the constitution and liberties of Ireland would have been firmly secured on a basis that would have withstood the efforts of England. In the latter country, the question of Reform had met with the sanction of the Duke of Richmond, and Mr. Pitt. Reform associations had been formed, two of which, the ‘Yorkshire Association,’ and the ‘London Constitutional Knowledge Society,’ entered into correspondence with the Volunteers, applauded their spirit, and urged upon them the utility of holding a national convention of the delegates of the four provinces.

It was a suggestion quite consonant to their spirit and to their views, and they lost no time in acting upon it. In the month of July, 1783, delegates from several corps in Ulster summoned a general assembly of delegates from the entire province for the 8th of September. Five hundred representatives met in pursuance of this requisition at Dungannon.\* Flood travelled from Dublin to attend, but was detained on the road by illness. The Earl of Bristol was present, and took an active part in the proceedings. He was the son of Lord Hervey, and made a considerable figure for a few years in the proceedings of the Volunteers. There is no man of whom more opposite opinions are given. Whilst some represent him as a man of elegant erudition, and extensive learning, others paint him as possessing parts more brilliant than solid, as being generous but uncertain ; splendid but fantastic ; an amateur without judgment ; and a critic without taste : engaging but licentious in conversation ; polite but violent ; in fact, possessing many of the qualities which the satirist attributes to another nobleman of his country, the fickle and profligate Villiers. There could be no greater contrasts in his character than in his conduct and position. He wore an English coronet and an Irish mitre ; and some have thought

of parliament was unconstitutional, nor justified by necessity, and might be dangerous to liberty—were adopted at several meetings. The Belfast company met, protested against the measure, and addressed Flood. The plan was not then carried into execution. It was a manifest attempt to terrify and overawe the Volunteers. They were too strong as yet to submit.

\* Mr. Grattan says this meeting took place at a meeting-house of dissenters in Belfast. The statement in the text is on the authority of the Historical Collections relating to Belfast, p. 255, and Belfast Politics, p. 245. See also a pamphlet, *History of the Convention*, published in 1784.

that he was visionary enough to have assumed the port of the Tribune only to obtain the power of a Sovereign. He was indeed monarchical in his splendour—his retinue exceeded that of the most affluent nobleman—his equipages were magnificent—he delighted in the acclamations of the populace, and the military escort which surrounded his carriage.\* He was a man who possessed princely qualities; he was costly, luxurious, munificent, and, in the strange antithesis of his position—bishop earl demagogue—was formed to attract the nation amongst which he had cast his lot. But his qualities were not dangerous; government was more afraid of him than they required to have been; and he effected little in the history of his day, more than playing a splendid part in a transitory pageant.

The second Dungannon Convention elected for its president Mr. James Stewart, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry. He was a friend of Lord Charlemont. They passed a number of resolutions, but the most important was the following:—

“That a committee of five persons be appointed to represent Ulster in a grand national Convention, to be held at noon, in the Royal Exchange of Dublin, on the 10th of November, then ensuing; to which they hoped that each of the other provinces would send delegates to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform, to pursue such measures as may appear most likely to render it effectual; to adjourn from time to time, and to convene provincial meetings if found necessary.”

Addresses were issued to the Volunteers of the three provinces, filled with the noblest sentiments in favour of liberty, and abundant in the impassioned if not inflated eloquence in which the spirit of the day delighted to be clothed. There was, however, an anomaly in their proceedings, and a striking and painful contrast between their abstract theories of liberty, and their practical manifestation. A proposition in favour of the Catholics was rejected—singular fact! Here was a body of men, not endowed with the powers of legislation, but acting as a suggestive assembly, dictating to legislation the way in which it should go, and declaring that freedom should be made more diffusive in its enjoyment; yet, they are found on grave deliberation rejecting from their scheme the vast body of the nation, whom they professed to emancipate and raise. The practical absurdity was the rock on which they split. And it is said regretfully and without reproach, that the influence of this intolerant principle upon their counsels is attributable to Lord Charlemont and Henry Flood. These good men were the victims of a narrow religious antipathy, which prevented either of them from rendering permanent service to the cause of liberty.

The interval between the Dungannon meeting and the Dublin Convention was stormy; yet the first parliament in the viceroyalty of Lord Northington opened with a vote of thanks to the Volunteers. This vote was the work of government. It is most probable that it was a deprecatory measure, and intended to guard against any vio-

\* He was escorted to the Rotunda Convention by a troop of light dragoons, commanded by his nephew, George R. Fitzgerald.—Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, c. 7.

lence in the Convention. This was the only measure of conciliation during the session. Sir Edward Newenham introduced the question of retrenchment in the public expenses, principally with reference to reduction in the army. It was taken up warmly by Sir H. Cavendish and Henry Flood; and it certainly did appear as if this enmity to the regular army was a Volunteer sentiment, so strongly did the principal parliamentary friends of that distinguished body persevere in the pressing upon the legislature the question of retrenchment. Grattan was opposed to any reduction in the regular forces—he said that it was a matter of compact that they remain at a certain standard settled in 1782, and he is accordingly found an opponent on all occasions of every proposition of retrenchment. The question was unfortunate; it led to that degrading personal discussion which displayed the two greatest men in the country in the discreditable attitude of virulent and vulgar personal animosity. On Sir H. Cavendish's motion for reduction in the expenses of the kingdom, Flood eagerly and eloquently supported the proposition. But, wandering beyond the necessities of his argument, he indulged in some wanton reflections upon Grattan, and the result was an invective from the latter, so fierce, implacable, and merciless, that it leaves behind it at a great distance the finest specimens of recorded virulence. The estrangement of these illustrious men was complete. And the triumph of their passions was one, and not a very remote, cause of the downfall of their country. They could no longer unite to serve her; their views, which had differed so widely before, thenceforward became principles of antagonism to carry out which was a point of honour, and an instinct of anger; and they whose combined wisdom would have rendered liberty secure, became unwittingly her most destructive enemies. The conservative policy of Grattan, and the progressive principles of Flood, in the acrimony of contest and the estrangement of parties, gave full opportunity to government to perfect that scheme which ended in the Union.\*

We have now arrived at what may well be called the last scene of the great political and military drama in which the Volunteers played such a distinguished part. At a time of great and pressing public peril, they sprung to arms and saved their country. Having dispelled the fears of foreign invasion and secured the integrity of Ireland, they found within her own system a greater enemy. They found trade restricted and legislation powerless. They emancipated industry and commerce; and they restored a constitution. But with their achievements, their ambition increased, and concluding with reason that a constitution must be a nominal blessing, where the parliament was not freely chosen by the people,† they resolved upon employing

\* These are the opinions which have been forced on me by a study of the events of that day. They are uttered with the deepest veneration of the great men whose glory is dear to our country. Nor does it detract much from the memory of either, that they partook of some of the weaknesses of that humanity of which they were such noble specimens. I find that Barrington takes the same view, and enforces the propriety of his opinions with great eloquence and power.—*Rise and Fall*, chap. 17.

† There were three hundred members: sixty-four were county members, and about the same number might be returned with great exertion by the people in the cities and

their powerful organization to procure a reform in parliament. How far this was consistent with their original principle—how far they should have left to the parliament itself the remodelling of its internal structure, and appealed to its wisdom in their civilian character, it is difficult to say. They had asserted at Dungannon—and the proposition had received the sanction of the legislature—that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not forfeit the right of discussing political affairs. Yet Grattan, in replying to Lord Clare's speech on the Union, seems to have insisted that armed men might make declarations in favour of liberty, but having recovered it, they should retire to cultivate the blessings of peace.\* The Volunteers, however, did not imagine that liberty was secured, until the parliament was free. Nor is it easy to understand why, if their declarations were of value in 1782 to recover a constitution, they should not be of equal importance in 1783 to reform the legislature.

Previous to the first meeting of the Dublin Convention, provincial assemblies were held in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught. They passed resolutions similar to those adopted at Dungannon—delegates were appointed—and the whole nation was prepared for the great Congress on which the fate of Ireland seemed to depend.

At length, amidst the hush of public expectation, the excited hopes of the nation and the fears of government, on Monday, the 10th of November, one hundred and sixty delegates of the Volunteers of Ireland met at the Royal Exchange. They elected Lord Charlemont chairman, and John Talbot Ashenhurst and Captain Dawson, secretaries, and then adjourned to the Rotunda. Their progress was one of triumph. The city and county Volunteers lined the streets, and received the delegates, who marched two and two through their ranks, with drums beating and colours flying. Thousands of spectators watched with eyes of hopeful admiration the slow and solemn march of the armed representatives to their place of assembly; and the air was rent with the acclamations of the people. Vain noises—hapless enthusiasm! In a few weeks, the doors that opened to admit the delegates of one hundred thousand men, were closed upon them with inconsiderate haste; and the fate of the constitution they had restored was sealed amidst sullen gloom and angry discontent. But popular enthusiasm was not prophetic, or could only anticipate from a glorious pageantry a great result.

The largest room in the Rotunda was arranged for the reception of the delegates. Semicircular seats in the manner of the amphitheatre were ranged around the chair. The appearance of the house was brilliant: the orchestra was filled with ladies; and the excitement of the moment was intense and general. Their first proceedings was to affirm the fundamental principle of Dungannon, that the right of political discussion was not lost by the assumption of arms; but the resolution was worded in that spirit of exclusion which was the bane and destruction of the Volunteers.†

towns. The remainder were the close borough members, the nominees of the aristocracy, and invariably the supporters of government.

\* Grattan's Miscellaneous Works, p. 98.

† "Resolved, That the *Protestant* inhabitants of this country are required by the statute

The Convention was not two days old until the machinations of government were productive of surprise and division. An habitual buffoon and witless jester, Sir Boyle Roche, obtained permission, though not a member of the Convention, to deliver a message, with which he asserted he stood charged, on the part of Lord Kenmare. That noble lord had an unenviable reputation: the servility which is taught to some natures by long suffering, grows up in others naturally; and in the latter class of men, Lord Kenmare was thought to be distinguished for the rank luxuriance of his slavish qualities. He appeared to shun freedom, and to part with each link of his fetters with coy reluctance. Liberty was a bewilderment for which his nerves were too weak; he walked with more sober dignity amidst the dull realities of bare toleration. Presuming, one may suppose, on this alleged characteristic, the buffoon of the legislature, at the instigation of government, thrust his repulsive presence on the Convention, and announced himself as the messenger of Lord Kenmare. "That noble lord," said Sir Boyle Roche, "and others of his creed, disavowed any wish of being concerned in the business of elections, and fully sensible of the favours already bestowed upon them by parliament felt but one desire, to enjoy them in peace, without seeking in the present distracted state of affairs to raise jealousies, and further embarrass the nation by asking for more."

This was on the 14th of November. It speaks little for the delegates who assembled on that day to build up national liberty, that for one moment they could have hearkened to, or believed this incredible piece of servility. The Catholics had been at their side in the whole campaign of freedom; they had given them their money; and they had rushed into their ranks. Was it credible that they should thus in so wanton a spirit of slavishness relinquish their rights and abdicate their very manhood? But the base delusion lasted but an hour. In the afternoon of the same day the princely demagogue, the Earl-Bishop of Derry, rose to submit to their consideration "a paper of consequence which referred to a class of men who were deserving of every privilege in common with their fellow-countrymen." He moved that the paper should be read. It was to this effect: "Nov. 14th, 1783—At a meeting of the General Committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart., in the chair, it was unanimously resolved, that the message relating to us delivered this morning to the National Convention was totally unknown to and unauthorized by us. That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind, as, by our own act, to prevent the removal of our shackles. That we shall receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the legislature, and are thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their generous efforts on our behalf. Resolved, That Sir P. Bellew be requested to present the foregoing resolutions to the Earl of Bristol as the act of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and entreat that his lordship will be pleased to communicate them to the National Convention." It is scarcely credible that the statement of Roche was simply a falsehood

law to carry arms and to learn the use of them, and are not by their compliance of the legislature excluded from the exercise of their civil rights."

of his own base coinage, and yet such is the fact; and that it was by the instigation of government, no one will hesitate to believe.

This was just the sort of manœuvre which assorted well with the usual practices of the English managers of Ireland. The governments of the world have ruled nations according to the genius of the governing people—the despotisms of Asia by the bowstring and the torture—Rome ruled dependant colonies by the sword—others have preserved their power by deceit and mystery—England has managed this country on a system which has borrowed something from all. But the perfidy which derived strength from the divisions of the people, was the leading detail in her management. She has ever felt how incompatible was the vicious exercise of her power, with the union of the people; she knew that when they forgot their division she must abdicate her influence, and a deep persuasion of this has produced that system of fomented dissension and well cultivated hatred by which her strength was less positive than derivative, springing from the weakness of a skilfully divided nation. The effects of her policy are plain in every page of the history of the Volunteers, from the hour when they gallantly rushed to arms to protect a country, left defenceless by a miserable government, to their noble struggles for freedom, and so to the wretched catastrophe of their decline. The present effort, mean and dishonourable as it was—was eminently successful. It furnished an excuse to the members of the Convention, who with all their patriotism, were disinclined to the claims of the Catholics, to leave every security for their liberties out of their plans of reform. The Catholics—and it was not in nature that they could have done otherwise—turned with sullen disgust from plausible theories of freedom, in which they were not included, from vain and pompous promises of liberty, whose maimed and imperfect blessings were limited to the minority of the people. The Convention was little more than a laboratory of constitutions, in which the nation took no interest, with skilful workmen and great science, with wonderful art and knowledge, but wanting all sympathy with the people who repudiated their abstractions and laughed at their philosophies.

When this little episode, important enough however in its results, was over, the Convention resolved itself into committees, and appointed sub-committees, to prepare plans of parliamentary reform, for the consideration of the general body. “Then was displayed a singular scene, and yet such a scene as any one, who considered the almost unvarying disposition of an assembly of that nature, and the particular object for which it was convened, might justly have expected. From every quarter and from every speculatist, great clerks or no clerks at all, was poured in such a multiplicity of plans of reform, some of them ingenious, some which bespoke an exercised and rational mind, but in general so utterly impracticable, ‘so rugged and so wild in their attire, they looked not like the offspring of inhabitants of the earth and yet were on it,’ that language would sink in pourtraying this motley band of incongruous fancies, of misshapen theories, valuable only if inefficient, or execrable if efficacious.\*

\* Hardy's Life of Charlemont. Hardy was one of Lord Charlemont's coterie, and looked

But the plan which, after some weeks of discussion, was eventually adopted, was the workmanship of the ablest head in the assembly. Flood had assumed, because he was able to grasp and resolute to maintain, a predominating superiority over the Convention. It was the ascendancy of a vigorous eloquence, a commanding presence, and a resistless will. With him in all his views, and beyond him in many, was the Bishop of Derry. The plan of reform which these two men approved\* was adopted, and Flood was selected to introduce a bill founded on its principles and suggestions, into Parliament. They imagined that they could terrify the legislature, and they much miscalculated the power of the Volunteers. That power was already shaken; they had flung away the sympathies of the people; they had by their conduct defined themselves as an armed oligarchy, whose limited notions of freedom extended no farther than their own privileges and claims; they were abhorred and feared by government and its parliamentary retainers; they were not trusted by the great body of the nation. It was under unfortunate auspices like these, in the midst of bitter hostility and more dangerous indifference, that Flood, leaving the Rotunda, proceeded on the 29th of December to the House of Commons with a bill, every provision of which was aimed at the Parliamentary existence of two-thirds of the house. He had requested the delegates not to adjourn till its fate was ascertained. But fatigue and disappointment rendered compliance impossible.

Flood's plan embraced many of the principles which have since become incorporated with the British constitution—the destruction of borough influence, and the creation of a sound county franchise.† There was nothing revolutionary—nothing of that spirit to which modern usages give the name of radical, in its principles and details. It was only defective in its grand omission. The Catholics obtained no boon, and acquired no liberty by its provisions, and to its fate in the legislature they were naturally indifferent. We have objected to Grattan that he did not go on with the popular movement—it may with equal justice be alleged against Lord Charlemont and Flood, that by their religious intolerance they impaired the strength of popular opinion and marred the efficacy of all their previous proceedings.

The debate consequent on Flood's motion for leave to bring in his

at men and things through the medium of Marino. His maiden speech was made in support of Flood's plan of reform, brought up from the Convention. It should not be forgotten that Hardy—though poor, he was incorruptible—scorned the large offers which were made to him at the Union. He was a patriot not to be purchased, when corruption was most munificent.

\* The bishop would have included the Catholics.

† *Scheme of Reform.*—“That every Protestant freeholder or leaseholder, possessing a freehold or leasehold for a certain term of years, of forty shillings value, resident in any city or borough, should be entitled to vote at the election of a member for the same.

“That decayed boroughs should be entitled to return representatives by an *extension of franchise* to the neighbouring parishes. That suffrages of the electors should be taken by the sheriff or his deputies, on the same day, at the respective places of election. That pensioners of the crown, receiving their pensions during pleasure, should be incapacitated from sitting in parliament. That every member of parliament accepting a pension for life, or any place under the crown, should vacate his seat. That each member should subscribe an oath that he had neither directly nor indirectly given any pecuniary or other consideration with a view of obtaining that suffrage of an election. Finally, that the duration of parliament should not exceed the term of three years.

Reform Bill, was bitter and stormy. The whole array of placemen, pensioners, and nominees were in arms against the bill—they could not disguise their rage and amazement—but vented their wrath against the Volunteers in furious terms. And Yelverton who combined an unmeasured regard for self-interest with a cautious and measured love of liberty, and who had been a Volunteer, denounced the idea of a bill introduced into parliament at the point of the bayonet.

“ If this, as it is notorious it does, originates from an armed body of men, I reject it. Shall we sit here to be dictated to at the point of the bayonet ? I honor the Volunteers ; they have eminently served their country ; but when they turn into a debating society, to reform the parliament, and regulate the nation ; when, with the rude point of the bayonet, they would probe the wounds of the constitution, that require the most skilful hand and delicate instrument ; it reduces the question to this. Is the Convention or the Parliament of Ireland to deliberate on the affairs of the nation ? What have we lately seen ? even during the sitting of Parliament, and in the metropolis of the kingdom, armed men lining the streets for armed men going in fastidious show to that pantheon of divinities, the Rotunda ; and there sitting in all the parade, and in the mockery of parliament ! Shall we submit to this ?

“ I ask every man who regards that free constitution established by the blood of our fathers, is such an infringement upon it to be suffered ? If it is, and one step more is advanced, it will be too late to retreat. If you have slept, it is high time to awake ! ”

This was the logic of an attorney-general who never deals a harder blow to liberty than when he professes himself her most obedient servant. But this transparent hypocrisy was rudely dealt with by Flood :

“ I have not introduced the Volunteers, but if they are aspersed, I will defend their character against all the world. By whom were the commerce and the constitution of this country recovered ?—By the Volunteers !

“ Why did not the right honourable gentleman make a declaration against them when they lined our streets—when parliament passed through the ranks of those virtuous armed men to demand the rights of an insulted nation ? Are they different men at this day, or is the right honourable gentleman different ? He was then one of their body ; he is now their accuser ! He, who saw the streets lined,—who rejoiced—who partook in their glory, is now their accuser ! Are they less wise, less brave, less ardent in their country’s cause, or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy ? May they not say, we have not changed, but you have changed. The right honourable gentleman cannot bear to hear of Volunteers ; but I will ask him, and I will have a **STARLING TAUGHT TO HOLLOW IN HIS EAR.**—Who gave you the free trade ? who got you the free constitution ? who made you a *nation* ? *The Volunteers !* ”\*

“ If they were the men you now describe them, why did you

\* *Declaration of the Volunteer army of Ulster*, “ That the dignified conduct of the army lately restored to the imperial crown of Ireland its original splendour, to nobility its ancient privileges, and to the nation at large its inherent rights as a sovereign independent state.”

ept of their service, why did you not *then* accuse them? If they  
re so dangerous why did you pass through their ranks with your  
shaker at your head to demand a constitution—why did you not *then*  
see the ills you now apprehend?"

Grattan supported the bill. He said he loved to blend the idea of  
Parliament and the Volunteers. They had concurred in establishing  
a constitution in the last parliament; he hoped that they would do  
the same in the present. But altogether it must be said that his support was  
weak—it wanted heart, it wanted the fire, the inspiration, the genius  
which carried the Declaration of Rights with triumph through that  
infinitely corrupt assembly. And yet reform was the only security  
for his own work—it would have rendered the constitution immortal,  
had he erected an enduring memorial of his glory.\*

But if Grattan lacked his ancient fire, the opposition which was  
aroused by the vile brood of faction was not deficient in spirit; it was  
vicious and fierce. The coarsest invectives, and the vulgarest ribaldry  
were heaped upon the Volunteers—the question of Parliamentary  
Reform was lost sight of in the rancorous malignity of the hour,  
and the debate became a chaos of vituperation, misrepresentation and  
personal invective. At length the question was put, and Flood's motion was  
carried. The numbers were, for the motion 77, against it 157. After  
the result had been ascertained, it was thought fit by the Attorney-  
General (Yelverton) to move, "That it has now become indispensably  
necessary to declare that the house will maintain its just rights  
and privileges, against all encroachments whatsoever." This was a  
declaration of war, less against Reform, than against the Volunteers.  
The gauntlet was thrown down to them—did they dare to take it up?

For awhile the Convention awaited a message from the commons—  
it no message of triumph came to crown their hopes. The scene  
was embarrassing—lassitude had succeeded excitement—silence crept  
owly on the noisy anticipations of victory. At last, adjournment  
was suggested—the dramatic effect was lost, the dramatic spirit had  
passed away. The Convention broke up, to await, without the thea-  
treal pomp of full assembly, the details of discomfiture, insult, and defeat.

which was the assumed power of the Volunteers in 1782. Parliament was considered then  
most anti-national.

\* "It was proposed by government to meet this question in the most decided manner,  
and to bring to issue the contest between the government and this motley assembly  
surpassing its rights. This idea met with very considerable support. A great heartiness  
prevailed among the principal men of consequence and fortune, and a decided spirit  
of opposition to the unreasonable encroachments, appeared with every man attached to  
the Administration. The idea stated was to oppose the *leave* to bring in a bill for the re-  
form of parliament in the first stage, on the ground of the petition originating in an assem-  
bly unconstitutional and illegal, and meant to awe and control the legislature. This bold  
mode of treating it was certainly most proper; at the same time it was subject to the de-  
ceptions of those who had been instructed on this idea of reform, and those who were still  
anxious to retain a small degree of popularity amongst the Volunteers. To have put it  
with a resolution would have given us at least fourteen votes. Grattan, having pledged  
himself to the idea of reform of parliament, could not see the distinction between the refu-  
sal of leave on the ground of its having come from an exceptionable body, and the abso-  
lute denial of any plan of reform. He voted against us, and spoke; *but his speech evident-  
ly showed that he meant us no harm*; and on the question of the resolution to support par-  
liament he voted with us. The resolutions are gone to the Lords, who will concur in them,  
except, it is said, Lord Mountmorris, Lord Aldborough, and Lord Charlemont."—  
Letter of the Lord Lieutenant to Charles James Fox, 30th November, 1783.

The interval was well used by those who secretly trembled at the issue of a direct collision between government and the Volunteers, or who had not the boldness to guide the storm, which they had had the temerity to raise. Rumours there were of secret conclaves where cowardly counsels took the place of manly foresight and sagacious boldness—of discussions with closed doors, where the men who had led the national army in the whole campaign of freedom, canvassed the propriety of sacrificing to their own fears, that body, whose virtue and renown had conferred on them a reflected glory;\* whilst some writers have represented the adjournment of the convention, and the extinction of the Volunteers, or as it was called by Grattan, “their retirement to cultivate the blessings of peace,” as the just and natural issue to their useful and brilliant career.† As well might it be said that the Union was the just and natural result of the constitution of 1782. And they who abandoned the Volunteers, and allowed their organization to crumble and decline, are answerable to their country for the consequences of that fatal measure of political confederation. A large meeting of “particular friends” assembled at Lord Charlemont’s on the Sunday.‡ It was unanimously agreed that the public peace—which did not appear in any particular danger at the time—was the first object to be considered. It is to be regretted that Hardy is not more explicit on the subject of this meeting. It would have been fortunate had he informed us who were the parties concerned in this transaction; for it might have furnished a key to the subsequent conduct of many men, whose proceedings were considered inexplicable at the time. The result of their deliberations was important. The Volunteers were to receive their rebuff quietly; they were to separate in peace and good will to all men; meekly to digest the contumelies of the government retainers; and following the advice of some of their officers, to hang up their arms in the Temple of Liberty. The advice was good, if the temple had been built.

On Monday the 1st of December, the Convention met. Captain Moore, one of the delegates, was about to comment on the reception of their Reform Bill by parliament, when Lord Charlemont called him to order. Upon which, in a very dignified way, Henry Flood detailed the insulting reception of their bill by the legislature; and well aware of the temper of some of the most influential men in the Convention, he counseled moderation. But what other policy than submission was on their cards? They had put themselves in antagonism to parliament—they had been treated with contempt and defiance—their plan had not even been discussed, but contemptuously rejected because it was the suggestion of men with arms in their hands—*arms which they dare not use*. There were only two courses open—war or submission. They adopted the latter course, not without some rebellious pride, and a flash of the old spirit that had burned so brightly at Dungannon. Major Moore exclaimed:—“Is it thus our defence of the country against foreign foe and domestic insurgent was to be rewarded?

\* Barrington’s *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, chap. 19, p. 377

† Grattan’s *Life*, by Henry Grattan, chap. 5.

‡ Hardy’s *Life of Charlemont*, vol. 2, p. 138.

My feelings were almost too strong for utterance—but they were the feelings of insulted worth, not of bitterness. The Volunteers would disappoint the malice of their enemies, and smile at every attempt to violate a character too sacred for detraction. They would show by moderation, the wisdom of their minds,—by perseverance the efficacy of their resolves. Let the castle spy, or prerogative lawyer, hunt for confiscations—our doors are open—the Volunteers stand intrenched in conscious virtue—

Just are their thoughts, and open are their tempers,  
Still are they found in the fair face of day,  
And heaven and men are judges of their actions.

“ I consider the real enemies of their country to be the mock representatives of the people, who have prevented the voice of the people from being heard in parliament. I insist, that the borough-mongers are equally dangerous to the prerogatives of the sovereign as to the liberties of the people, and that our viceroys are obliged to purchase their support, by an adoption of their principles. I say, that any minister who attempted to alienate the mind of his Majesty from his faithful subjects of Ireland, merited impeachment ; and I hope that the several counties will address the Lord Lieutenant, to remove from his counsels all men who dare give advice tending to so calamitous an issue.” An angry and significant resolution was proposed to the effect that it was indispensable for the people to declare that they would defend their rights and privileges ; it would have been a feeble parody of the insulting resolution of the House of Commons. It was not put ; it was not withdrawn. The proceeding was undignified. But the wisdom of the ruling minds had already sealed the fate of the Volunteers. And they were rushing, almost unresisting, to their doom. They adjourned, after much vain discussion, to the next day, when, for the last time the Volunteers met in Convention. Flood rose and proposed an address to the Throne, which may be considered the only remaining document of importance issued by the Volunteers.

“ That his Majesty’s most loyal subjects, the delegates of all the Volunteers of Ireland, beg leave to approach his Majesty’s Throne with all humility.

“ To express their zeal for his Majesty’s person, family, and government, and their inviolable attachment to the perpetual connection of his Majesty’s Crown of this kingdom with that of Great Britain.

“ To offer to his Majesty their lives and fortunes in support of his Majesty’s rights, and of the glory and prosperity of the British empire.

“ To assert, with an humble but an honest confidence, that the Volunteers of Ireland did, without expense to the public, protect his Majesty’s kingdom of Ireland against his foreign enemies, at a time when the remains of his Majesty’s forces in this country were not adequate to that service.

“ To state that through their means the laws and police of this kingdom had been better executed and maintained, than at any former period within the memory of man.

“ And to implore his Majesty, that their humble wish to have certain manifest perversions of the parliamentary representations of this

kingdom, remedied by the legislature in some reasonable degree, might not be imputed to any spirit of innovation in them, but to a sober and laudable desire to uphold the constitution, to confirm the satisfaction of their fellow-subjects, and to perpetuate the cordial union of both kingdoms."

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*, and the fate of the old Volunteers, as Grattan used to call them, was sealed. Throughout this contest between them and parliament, they were imprudent and weak. They established a directly hostile assembly—they sent down their delegates with a Reform Bill, without a single petition to the legislature from the counties in its favour—they received a fierce rebuke from their enemies, and were coolly defended by their friends—and they separated in discomfiture, without having done any thing to effect the purpose which summoned them together. That this was not the fault of the Volunteers—that the fault lay with the inconsistent intolerance, and the characteristic weakness of some of their leaders, is undeniable—but the consequences were fatally visited upon the great institution, which thenceforward lost all importance and weight, produced no manner of result in the counsels of the state, and was let die out in natural decay by the very contempt of government, and without any visible sign of regret in the nation.

A very different account of the termination of the Convention appears in Sir Jonah Barrington's work.\* It possesses all the charms of imagination. It is a narrative of pure and exquisitely wrought fiction, in which, with all the art of a finished writer, he preserves verisimilitude in character and propriety in costume, without the intrusion of any vulgar fact to disturb the perfection of romance. It reflects, however, little credit on him as an historian, for it betrays either unpardonable ignorance or wanton malice. He imputes to Lord Charlemont the mean device of opening the Convention at an earlier hour than usual, that he might precipitately adjourn, and in that villainous way deceive the sterner minds. Such a trick would disgrace the memory of a good man, though a weak one—and would add to the errors of a feeble policy, the perfidy of an evil heart. Lord Charlemont was incapable of dishonour. He paused in the career of glory, when he began to fear a violent issue. But he retired with dignity; and though he relinquished the reputation of a statesman, he never tarnished his laurels, won by the purest love of country, and the most shining private virtue.

The Volunteers through the country received the accounts of their delegates with indignant amazement. They beat to arms—they met—and resolved. But the binding principle was relaxed; doubt, suspicion, and alarm pervaded the ranks that had been so firmly knit; their resolutions, though still warmed with the spirit of a fiery eloquence, were but sounding words, unheeded by a government which had planted too securely the seeds of disunion, to fear the threats of men, without leaders, without mutual confidence, without reliance on themselves. The Bishop of Derry became their idol; but it was beyond his power to restore them to their commanding position. Flood had

\* *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, chap. 19.

gone to England, either fired with new ambition, or in despair of effecting his great objects at home. The bishop was a bad adviser, too bold and unguarded, and the government, amazed at an extraordinary reply which he gave to an address of the Bill of Rights' Battalion, a northern corps, seriously canvassed the propriety of his arrest. His reply concluded with a memorable political aphorism, "Tyranny is not government, and allegiance is due only to protection." But he was not prosecuted, nor arrested. It would have been a rash, it was an useless step. The natural progress of events effected what a measure of severity would probably have retarded, or rendered impossible—the destruction of the Volunteers. Division of opinion gained ground amongst them, yet they continued their reviews, they published their proceedings, they passed their resolutions. But, month by month, and year by year, their numbers diminished, their military gatherings became less splendid, their exposition of political opinion less regarded by the nation, or feared by the government.

The Reform Bill presented by the Convention having failed, Flood, after his return from England, determined to test the sincerity of the parliament in the alleged cause of its rejection. The legislature declared that they had spurned the bill because it emanated from a military body. In March, 1784, he introduced another measure of parliamentary reform, backed by numerous petitions from the counties. The bill was read a second time, but was rejected on the motion for its committal, by a majority of seventy-four. Grattan gave a cold support. It became now clear, that the opposition was given to reform, not because it was the demand of a military body, but because the principle was odious to a corrupt parliament. A meeting of the representatives of thirty-one corps took place at Belfast, to make preparations for a review, and they adopted a resolution that they would not associate with any regiment at the ensuing demonstration, which should continue under the command of officers who opposed parliamentary reform.\* However natural was their indignation at the coolness of some, and the hostility of other professing patriots to the great measure of constitutional change, the effect of this resolution was unfortunate. It yielded a plausible excuse to many of the officers to secede from the Volunteer body—it worked out wonderfully the policy of division which government was in every way pursuing—it defined the distinctions which existed in the Volunteer association, and widened the fatal breach.

The rejection of the Reform Bill was followed by an attempt to get up a national congress by Flood, Napper Tandy, and others. They addressed requisitions to the sheriffs of the counties, calling on them to summon their bailiwicks for the purpose of electing representatives. Some few complied with the requisitions—most of them refused. The Attorney General (Fitzgibbon) threatened to proceed by attachment against those who had obeyed the mandate, and by a mixture of personal daring and ability, succeeded in preventing Mr. Reilly, the sheriff of Dublin, from taking the chair of an intended electoral meeting. Delegates were, however, selected in some quar-

\* Historical Collections relative to Belfast, p. 200.

ters, and in October a few individuals assembled in William-street, to hold the congress. The debate was with closed doors; the Bishop of Derry was not present; Flood attended, and detailed his plan of reform, in which the Catholics were not included. The omission gave offence to the congress, and Flood, indignant at the want of support, retired. After three days' sitting, the congress adjourned. It vanished as if it were the melancholy ghost of the National Convention.

These proceedings were alluded to in the speech which opened the session, January, 1785. They were characterised as “lawless outrages, and unconstitutional proceedings.” The address in reply applied the same terms to the transactions in connection with the national congress; and this drew from Grattan a memorable speech, and one which with reference to the Volunteers is historic. It marks the transition point when the old Volunteers ceased, and a new body composed of a different class of men, and ruled by politicians with very different views, commenced a career which terminated only in the establishment of the United Irishmen. Grattan, in the debate on the address, after defending the reform party and principles generally, from the attacks contained in the Viceroy's speech, said,\* “I would now wish to draw the attention of the House to the alarming measure of drilling the lowest classes of the populace, by which a stain had been put on the character of the Volunteers. The old and original Volunteers had become respectable, because they represented the property of the nation; but attempts had been made to arm the poverty of the kingdom. They had originally been the armed property—were they to become *the armed beggary?*” To the congress—to the parties who had presented petitions for reform, he addressed indignant reproof. They had, he said, been guilty of the wildest indiscretion; they had gone much too far, and, if they went on, they would overturn the laws of their country.

It was an unfortunate period for the interests of Irish liberty, which Grattan selected, thus to dissever the ties between the Volunteers and him. They had begun to perceive that without the co-operation of the Catholics, it would be unreasonable to expect to obtain a reformed parliament, independent of England. The men of the Ulster Plantation were the first to recognise and act upon this obvious truth. They carried their toleration so far as to march to the chapel, and to attend mass. Had proper advantage been taken of these dispositions of the people, the result would have been the acquisition of a measure of Parliamentary Reform, which would have ensured the stability of the settlement of 1782. But they were left without guides, when most a ruling mind was required; nor is it surprising that ulterior views began to influence the ardent temperament, and to excite the angry passions of a disappointed people. But these considerations belong to the history of a later period, when the Volunteers had merged into that great and wonderful confederacy, which, within a few years, threatened the stability of the English dominion in Ireland.

The regular army had been increased to fifteen thousand men, with the approbation of the most distinguished founders of the constitution

\* Grattan's Speeches, vol. 1, p. 212.

of 1782—the next act of hostility was one in which Gardiner, who had been an active officer in the Volunteers, took the leading part. On the 14th of February, 1785, he moved that £20,000 be granted to his Majesty for the purpose of clothing the militia. This was intended to be a fatal blow. It was aimed by a treacherous hand. The motion was supported by Langrishe, Denis, Daly, Arthur Wolfe, and Grattan. Fitzgibbon assailed the Volunteers with official bitterness. He reiterated the charges of Grattan, that they had admitted into their ranks a low description of men—their constitution was changed—they had degenerated into practices inimical to the peace of the country. They were, however, not left undefended. Curran, Hardy, and Newenham stepped forward to their vindication. These men pointed out the benefits of the institution—the Volunteers in time of war had protected the country, and preserved internal quiet—no militia was then needed—why was it required in peace? The proposition was a censure on the Volunteers.

Grattan replied:—“The Volunteers had no right whatsoever to be displeased at the establishment of a militia; and if they had expressed displeasure, the dictate of armed men ought to be disregarded by parliament.

“The right honourable member had introduced the resolution upon the most constitutional ground. To establish a militia—he could not see how that affected the Volunteers; and it would be a hard case, indeed, if members of parliament should be afraid to urge such measures as they deemed proper, for fear of giving offence to the Volunteers. The situation of the House would be truly unfortunate if the name of the Volunteers could intimidate it. I am ready to allow that the great and honourable body of men—the primitive Volunteers, deserved much of their country; but I am free to say, that they who now assume the name have much degenerated. It is said that they rescued the constitution, that they forced parliament to assert its rights, and therefore parliament should surrender the constitution into their hands. But it is a mistake to say they forced parliament: they stood at the back of parliament, and supported its authority; and when they thus acted with parliament, they acted to their own glory; but when they attempted to dictate, they became nothing. When parliament repelled the mandate of the Convention, they went back, and they acted with propriety; and it will ever happen so when parliament has spirit to assert its own authority.

“Gentlemen are mistaken if they imagine that the Volunteers are the same as they formerly were, when they committed themselves in support of the state, and the exclusive authority of the parliament of Ireland, at the Dungannon meeting. The resolutions published of late hold forth a very different language.

“Gentlemen talk of ingratitude. I cannot see how voting a militia for the defence of the country is ingratitude to the Volunteers. The House has been very far from ungrateful to them. While they acted with parliament, parliament thanked and applauded them; but in attempting to act against parliament, they lost their consequence. Ungrateful! Where is the instance? It cannot be meant, that because

the House rejected the mandate which vile incendiaries had urged the Convention to issue ; because, when such a wound was threatened to the constitution, the House declared that it was necessary to maintain the authority of parliament, that therefore the House was ungrateful!"

The Volunteers lingered some years after this. They held annual reviews—they passed addresses and resolutions—but, henceforward their proceedings were without effect. The details of their decay do not belong to the history of the Volunteers of 1782. That body practically expired with the Convention of Dublin. Their old leaders fell away—the men of wealth abandoned them, and new men—men, not without generous qualities and high ambition, but with perilous and revolutionary views—succeeded to the control. And when, at length, the Volunteers having come into direct collision with the regular army, and wisely declined contest, the government issued its mandate, that every assemblage of the body should be dispersed by force, even the phantom of the army of Ireland had passed away from the scene for ever.\*

One cannot look back without mournful pride to the gorgeous pageant of the Volunteers. At a time of public danger and distress, when that government whose crimes had lost America to the Crown of England, left the shores of her next greatest dependency exposed to the descent of the invader, one hundred thousand men, theretofore unused to arms, suddenly appeared in the form and power of a great army to protect the country. Self-clothed and self-disciplined, their organization appeared miraculous. Without any revenue derived from the state, they maintained the attitude, and discharged the duties of a national army and militia. Prepared to repel by force a foreign enemy, they employed their arms to preserve peace, and vindicate the law at home.

But having effected the original purposes of their institution, they turned their attention to objects still more important. They found the trade of their country shackled by an oppressive rival—her industry paralysed—her manufacturers starving. They determined to remove all obstacles to the development of her abundant resources, and we have seen how they effected Free Trade.

The secret of their strength having been taught them by success, they proceeded to establish constitutional freedom on the foundations of commercial prosperity ; and by the same demonstrations of power, they produced a still more brilliant effect upon the servility of an Irish, and the usurpations of an English Parliament. The constitution of 1782 was their second and their greatest victory.

That they failed in consummating their designs—that they were unable to render perpetual the liberty they had achieved, is attributable to many causes. Grattan refused to advance a step beyond the Declaration of Rights ; Lord Charlemont was not a statesman ; Flood and Charlemont were intolerant.

The Dublin Convention was an error. It was a rival parliament ; and as such it violated the spirit of the constitution. It was the par-

\* A few country corps had fixed upon holding a review at Doah, in the county of Antrim. The army marched to the spot to disperse them ; but the Volunteers avoided assembling, and thus gave up the ghost.—*Dr. Mac Nevin's Pieces of Irish History*, p. 58.

liament of a minority, for it excluded the Catholics from a participation in the benefits it proposed to confer ; the nation was indifferent to the contests of two rival assemblies, one the organ of a government, the other of a faction. As a great measure of revolution, the Convention would have been all powerful, if the Volunteers were ready to back its mandates with their arms, and the people with their sympathies. But the Volunteers were irresolute—the people were apathetic. It was a madness to suppose that a mere oligarchy could contend with the power of England. And in the hour when they required every assistance that could be procured, with wanton folly they estranged the affections of a brave and faithful people.—Herein is contained a lesson that may be usefully studied, and never more usefully than at present. England was weak, Ireland powerful—England assailed by French and American hostility, and sinking under domestic embarrassments, could resist no demand which Ireland chose to make. There existed in Ireland every element of constitutional or absolute freedom—all the forms of government, a Legislature, and an Executive, a standing army—there was a wealthy and ancient aristocracy, a bold and martial people. Yet in this great and powerful machine there was one principle of self-destruction, working stealthily but surely the ruin and the disorganization of its power. Intolerance was that evil and malignant principle—a principle planted in Ireland by English policy, and now conservative of English power. That fatal disunion—that mixed feeling of religious hatred, personal suspicion and contempt with which the Catholics of Ireland were regarded by the Protestant people, gave way for a while to the enthusiasm of volunteering, and seemed to be exercised by the Convention of Dungannon. But it revived after the concessions of parliamentary independence. The aristocratic party—the nobility of the pale—were contented with their own triumph, and jealous of all participation in their glory. They churlishly refused to the Catholics their political rights. It became an easy task for the dark and evil genius of the greatest of English ministers to ripen the seeds of division. The Catholics were disgusted—the Protestans deceived. If Grattan had gone on with the movement, his tolerant genius would possibly have influenced the timid spirit of Charlemont, or rendered his bigotry as harmless as it was contemptible. The Volunteers would have become a national body, not an aristocratic institution ; and the constitution of 1782, would have withstood every effort of England to destroy that “final adjustment.”

To the historian of United Irishmen, and the men of Ninety-Eight, belong the details of the decline of the Volunteers. Out of the embers of that institution grew the Whig Club, and that other powerful confederacy of which Theobald Wolfe Tone was the founder. These two bodies partook of the character of their parents. The Whig Club established by Lord Charlemont, led a dilettante life and died of its own debility—the United Irishmen were deep, bold, and sagacious, and but for the errors of a few leaders, would have overthrown the empire of England in their country, and established on its ruins an Irish Republic.

# A P P E N D I X.

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## V O L U N T E E R S.

Abstract of the effective Men in the different Volunteer Corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, and those who acceded to their Resolutions, and to the requisitions of the House of Commons of Ireland, the 16th of April, 1782.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF.—Earl of Charlemont.

### GENERALS.

Duke of Leinster.	Earl of Tyrone.	Earl of Aldborough.
Lord De Vesci.	Sir B. Denny.	Right Hon. George Ogle.
Sir James Tynte.	Earl of Clanricarde.	Earl of Muskerry.
Sir William Parsons,	Honourable J. Butler.	Right Hon. Henry King.*

### PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Dungannon Meeting, 153 Corps,	· · · · ·	26,280
Twenty-one Corps since acceded,	· · · · ·	3,938
Infantry since acceded, Two Battalions,	· · · · ·	1,250
Six Corps of Cavalry,	· · · · ·	200
Eight Corps of Artillery,	· · · · ·	420
		32,088
Ulster Corps which have acceded since the 1st of April, 35 of Infantry and one Battalion,	· · · · ·	1,972
Two of Cavalry,	· · · · ·	92
		34,152

### *Artillery.*

Six pounders,	· · · · ·	16
Three pounders,	· · · · ·	10
Howitzers,	· · · · ·	6
		—
Total Pieces of Artillery,	· · · · ·	32

### PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Ballinasloe Meeting, 59 Corps,	· · · · ·	6,897
Thirty-one Corps of Infantry, who since acceded,	· · · · ·	5,781
Cavalry, eight Corps,	· · · · ·	421
Artillery,	· · · · ·	250
		—
Acceded since 1st of April, four Corps of Infantry and one of Cavalry,	· · · · ·	13,349
		987
Total of Connaught,	· · · · ·	14,336

\* Besides these, the Volunteers, at their Provincial Reviews, elected their Reviewing Generals.

*Artillery.*

Six pounders, . . . . .	10
Three pounders, . . . . .	10
	—
Total pieces of Artillery, . . . . .	
	20
PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.	
City and County of Cork, . . . . .	5,123
68 Other Corps of Infantry in the Province, . . . . .	7,987
Cavalry of the Province returned, 15 Corps, . . . . .	710
Artillery, 9 Corps, . . . . .	221
	—
Acceded since 1st April, 15 Corps of Infantry, . . . . .	14,041
Two Corps of Cavalry, . . . . .	3,921
	94
	—
Total of Munster, . . . . .	
	18,056

*Artillery.*

Six pounders, . . . . .	14
Three pounders, . . . . .	14
Howitzers, . . . . .	4
	—
Total Pieces of Artillery, . . . . .	
	32
PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.	
139 Corps whose Delegates met at Dublin, April 17, 1782, . . . . .	16,983
10 Corps of Cavalry who before acceded and no Delegates sent, . . . . .	580
19 ditto of Infantry, . . . . .	4,398
Artillery, 9 Corps, . . . . .	322
	—
Total of Leinster, . . . . .	
	22,283

*Artillery.*

Nine pounders, . . . . .	2
Six pounders, . . . . .	16
Three pounders, . . . . .	14
Howitzers, . . . . .	6
	—
Total Pieces of Artillery, . . . . .	
	38

*Total Numbers*

Ulster, . . . . .	34,152
Munster, . . . . .	18,056
Connaught, . . . . .	14,336
Leinster, . . . . .	22,283
	—
Total, . . . . .	
	88,827
22 Corps have also acceded but made no returns; estimated at	12,000
	—
Making in all nearly a general grand total of . . . . .	100,000
Artillery 130 Pieces.	

## LIST AND NAMES OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Aghavoe Loyals.—Associated July 1st, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Robert White.

Aldborough Legion.—August, 1777; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Colonel Earl of Aldborough.

Ards Battalion.—Colonel Patrick Savage.

Ardee Rangers.

Arlington Light Cavalry.—September 18th, 1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Captain George Gore; Lieutenant J. Warburton; Cornet Jonathan Chetwood.

Arran Phalanx.—Scarlet, faced white. Captain Dawson; Lieutenant Frederick Gore; Earl of Arran.

Armagh Volunteers.

Athy Independents.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Robert Johnson.

Athy Volunteers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white.

Athy Rangers.—Captain Weldon.

Attorneys' Corps.

Aughmacloy Battalion.—Scarlet, faced white. Colonel P. Alexander.

Aughmacloy Volunteers.—Captain Thomas Forsyth.

Ashfield Volunteers.—Blue, faced blue. Captain H. Clements.

Aughrim Corps of Cork.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet, faced scarlet, edged white. Colonel Richard Longfield; Major Edward Jameson; Captain Samuel Rowland.

Aughrim Light Horse.—Scarlet, faced pea-green. Colonel Walter Lambert

Bantry Volunteers.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced black, edged white.

Ballintemple Forresters.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Stewart.

Ballyroom Cavalry.

Barony Rangers.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Andrew Armstrong; Captain Robert Shervington.

Barony of Forth Corps.—January 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Major Hughes.

Ballyleek Rangers.—1779; scarlet, faced white, gold lace. Colonel John Montgomery.

Bandon Cavalry.—Colonel S. Stawell; Major John Travers.

Bandon Independent Company.—Colonel Francis Bernard; Captain Robert Seale.

Ballina and Ardnaree (loyal) Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Right Honourable Henry King; Major Henry Cary.

Ballymascanlan Rangers, (Co. Louth). Captain R. M'Neale.

Belfast Union.—June 12th, 1778; scarlet, faced blue. Captain Lyons.

Belfast Light Dragoons.—March 26th, 1781; scarlet, faced green, silver lace. Captain Burden.

Belfast Battalion.—April, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Col. Stewart Banks; Major Brown.

Belfast Volunteer Company.—April 6th, 1778; blue, faced blue, laced hats. Captain Brown; Captain S. M'Tier.

Belfast First Volunteer Company.—March 17th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Captain Waddel Cunningham.

Belfast United Volunteer Companies.

Blackwater Volunteers.—Colonel Richard Aldworth; Lieutenant Colonel Robert Stanard.

Blackpool Association.—Colonel John Harding; Lieut. Col. Thomas Barry.

Blarney Volunteers.—Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Gibbs; Captain Edward O'Donnoghue.

Burros Volunteers.—1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Kavanagh.

Burros in Ossory Rangers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver epaulettes. Captain Commandant James Stephens; Lieutenant Erasmus Burrowes; Ensign Walter Stevens.

Boyne Volunteer Corps.—Colonel John Bagwell; Major John Bass; Lieutenant Charles Willcocks.

Builders' Corps.—November 4th, 1781; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet. Colonel Read.

Burros-a-kane Volunteers.—Major Thomas Stoney.

Castlebar Independents.—March 17th, 1779; scarlet, faced deep green. Colonel Patrick Randal M'Donald.

Castlebar Volunteers.—Lieutenant Colonel Jordan, M. S.

Carrick-on-Shannon Infantry.—August, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant Colonel Peyton.

Castle Mount Garret Volunteers.—1778; scarlet, faced deep green. Colonel D. G. Browne; Lieutenant John Henry.

Callan Union.—April 1st, 1779; green, edged white. Captain Elliott.

Caledon Volunteers.—Captain James Dawson.

Carlow Association.—September 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Major Eustace, M. S.; Lieutenant and Adjutant T. Proctor.

Carrick-on-Suir Union.—Captain Edward Morgan Mandeville.

Carberry Independent Company.—Captain John Townshend.

Carrickfergus Company.—April 3rd, 1779; scarlet, faced pea-green. Captain Marriot Dalway; Lieutenant Rice.

Carton Union.—Colonel H. Cane.

Castlecomer Hunters and Light Infantry.—Colonel Lord Wandesford.

Castledermot Volunteers.—Captain Robert Power.

Castledurrow Light Horse.—August, 1778; green, edged white. Captain Richard Lawrenson.

Castledurrow Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; green, edged white, silver lace. Captain Bathorn.

Castletown Union.—Captain Com. Rt. Hon. T. Conally.

Cavan (County) Volunteers.—Colonel Enery.

Cavan Independent Volunteers.

Carlow (County) Legion.—September 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced lemon colour. Colonel J. Rochfort; Major Henry Bunbury.

Charleville Infantry.—January 4th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet. Colonel Chidley Coote; Major H. George Hatfield.

Clanricarde Brigade.—June, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Major D'Arcy.

Clanricarde Infantry.—Captain David Power.

Clanricarde Cavalry.—Colonel Peter Daly; Captain P. D'Arcy.

Clanwilliam Union.—Colonel Earl of Clanwilliam; Captain Alleyn.

Clane Rangers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Michael Aylmer.

Clonmel Independents.—Colonel Bagwell.

Cloulonan Light Infantry.—Colonel George Cliborne.

Cork Independent Artillery.—March 17th, 1781; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace. Colonel Richard Hare.

Constitution Regiment (Co. Down).—Scarlet, faced yellow. Captain Ford; Captain Gawin Hamilton.

Coleraine Volunteers.—Colonel Richardson; Lieutenant-Colonel Canning; Major Lyle.

Coolock Independents, North.—Captain James Walker.

Coolock Independents.—Colonel Richard Talbot.  
 Comber Battalion.—Colonel David Ross.  
 Connnaught Volunteers.  
 Coumagh Rangers.—Colonel Percival.  
 Conner Volunteers.  
 Cork Union.—Henry Hickman, Commandant.  
 Cork Cavalry.—Colonel William Chetwynd; Major John Gilman; Captain John Smyth.  
 Crossmolina Infantry and Artillery.  
 Cullenagh Rangers.—Colonel Barrington.  
 Culloden Volunteer Society of Cork.—Colonel Benjamin Bousfield; Captain Lieutenant Henry Newsom.  
 Curraghmore Rangers.—Captain Shee.  
 Delvin Volunteers.—Colonel Thomas Smyth.  
 Donegal First Regiment.—Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton.  
 Doneraile Rangers.—Colonel Right Hon. Lord Doneraile; Captain Nicholas G. Evans.  
 Down Volunteers.—Captain Henry West.  
 Down First Regiment (2nd Battalion.)—Blue, faced orange. Col. Stewart.  
 Down Fuzileers.—Captain Trotter.  
 Drogheda Association.—1777; scarlet, faced Pomona green, gold laced hats.  
 Colonel Mead Ogle; Lieutenant-Colonel H. Montgomery Lyons; Major William Cheshier; Captain Oliver Fairtlough; Lieutenant William Holmes; Lieutenant John Ackland.  
 Dromore Volunteers, (Co. Kerry).—scarlet, faced green. Colonel John Mahony.  
 Drumahare Blues.—Lieutenant Armstrong.  
 Drumbridge Volunteers.—Major A. G. Stewart.  
 Dublin Volunteers.—October 6th, 1778; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet, yellow buttons. Colonel Duke of Leinster; Lieutenant-Colonel H. Monck; Captain N. Warren; Lieutenant E. Medlicott.  
 Dublin (Co.) Light Dragoons.—August, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Right Hon. Luke Gardiner; Captain Everard.  
 Dublin Independent Volunteers.—April 24th, 1780; scarlet, faced dark green. Colonel Henry Grattan; Lieut. Colonel Right Hon. H. Flood; Major Samuel Canier.  
 Duhallow Rangers.—Colonel the Hon. Charles George Percival; Lieutenant Colonel William Wrixon.  
 Duleek Light Company.—July, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Captain Thos. Trotter.  
 Dunkerrin Volunteers.—June 20th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel J. F. Rolleston.  
 Dunlavin Light Dragoons.—1777; white, faced black, silver lace. Colonel M. Saunders; Captain Charles Oulton.  
 Dunlavin Corps.  
 Dunmore Rangers.—August, 1779; green, edged white. Colonel Sir Robert Staples, Bart.  
 Dundalk Independent Light Dragoons.—Captain Thomas Read.  
 Dundalk Horse.—Scarlet, faced green. I. W. Foster, Esq.  
 Dundalk Artillery.  
 Dungarvan Volunteers.—Captain Boate.  
 Dungiven Battalion.—June 14th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Major Thomas Bond; Captain Thomas Fanning.  
 Dunmore Volunteers.  
 Dungannon Battalion.—Major O'Duffin.

Durrow Light Dragoons.

Dungannon Volunteers.—Captain Richardson.

Echlin Vale Volunteers.—October 19th, 1778; scarlet, faced white. Captain Charles Echlin.

Edenderry Union.—May 1st, 1777: scarlet, faced black. Captain Shaw Cartland.

Edgeworthstown Battalion.—1779; blue, faced scarlet. Colonel Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.

Eglish Rangers.—August 29th, 1797; scarlet, faced black, silver epaulettes. Major Thomas Berry; Captain John Drought; Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Clarke.

Ennis Volunteers.—October 12th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Wm. Blood.

Enniscorthy Light Dragoons.—Colonel Phaire; Captain Charles Dawson.

Enniscorthy Artillery.—Colonel Joshua Pounden; Major William Bennett.

Eyrecourt Buffs.—June 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced buff, gold epaulettes. Colonel Giles Eyre; Captain Stephen Blake.

Independent Enniskilleners.—Scarlet, faced black. Captain James Armstrong.

Farbill Light Dragoons.—Captain Robert Cook.

Fartullagh Rangers.—October 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Rochfort Hume.

Fethard Independents.—Major Matthew Jacob.

First Irish Volunteers, (Co. Wexford).—Lieutenant Colonel Derenzy.

Finea Independents.—May 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Coyne Nugent.

Fingal Light Dragoons.—June 27th, 1783; scarlet, faced white. Captain Thomas Baker.

Finglass Volunteers.—Colonel Segrave.

Fore Infantry Loyalists.—Major Wm. Pollard; Captain Nugent.

Fore Cavalry and Finea Rangers.—Colonel Wm. Gore; (Finea Rangers).

French Park Light Horse.—June, 1779: scarlet, faced black, edged white, gold lace. Lieutenant Colonel Edward M'Dermott: Lieutenant Owen M'Dermott.

Galway Volunteers.—Colonel Richard Martin; Major John Blake.

Galway (County) Volunteers.

Garrycastle Light Cavalry.

Glanmire Union.—Colonel Henry Mannix; Captain Simon Dring.

Glenboy and Killemat Regiment.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Cullen.

Glendermot Battalion.—Colonel George Ash.

Glin Royal Artillery.—April, 1776; blue, faced blue, scarlet cuffs and capes, gold lace. Colonel J. Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin; Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Burgess.

Glorious Memory Battalion.—1780; scarlet, faced grass green. Colonel T. Morris Jones.

Goldsmiths' Corps.—March 17th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace. Captain Benjamin O'Brien.

Gort Light Dragoons.—Major James Galbraith.

Gortin Volunteers.—Hon. Arthur Colonel Hamilton; Lieutenant Lennon.

Graigue (Q. C.) Volunteers.—May 1st, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, silver lace. Colonel B. Bagnal.

Granard Infantry Union Brigade.—May 1st, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain C. E. Hamilton.

Granard Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Granard; Lieut. Robert Holmes.

Hanover Society.—Colonel Richard Hungerford.

Hollywood Volunteers.—Captain John Kennedy.

Hibernian Light Dragoons.

Ida Light Dragoons.—Major Fitzgerald.

Imokilly Horse, (County Cork).—White, edged scarlet. Colonel Roche; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert M'Carthy.

Imokilly Blues.—Colonel Robert Uniacke Fitzgerald.

First Volunteers of Ireland.—July 1st, 1766; scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart.

Irish Brigade.—June 5th, 1782; scarlet, faced grass green, silver lace. Captain Charles Abbott.

Iveagh First Battalion.—Colonel Sir Richard Johnston.

Iverk Volunteers.—Colonel Right Hon. John Ponsonby; Major Osborne.

Inchegealagh Volunteers.—Captain Commandant Jasper Masters; Lieutenant John Boyle.

Kanturk Volunteers.—Colonel Right Hon. Earl of Egmont.

Kell's Association.—November 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Morris.

Kerry Legion.—Colonel Arthur Blennerhasset; Major Godfrey.

Kile Volunteers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Charles White.

Kilcullen Rangers.—September, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Captain Keating.

Kilcoursey Union.—Major Bagot.

Kilcooly True Blues.—1779; blue, faced white. Colonel Sir William Barker, Bart.

Kildare Infantry.—Captain James Spencer.

Kilkenny Rangers.—January 2nd, 1770; green, with silver lace. Colonel Mossom; Major Wemys.

Kilkenny Horse.—Colonel Cuffe.

Kilkenny Volunteers.—June 10th, 1779; blue, faced scarlet, gold lace.—Colonel Thomas Butler; Lieutenant-Colonel Knaresborough; Captains Laffan, Shanahan, Purcell; Ensign Davis.

Kilkenny Independents.—Major Roche,

Killala Infantry.

Killimoon Battalion and Artillery Company.—Robert White, Adjutant.

Killinchy (First) Independent Volunteer Company.—Captain Gavyn Hamilton.

Kilmore Light Infantry.—Matthew Forde, Jun.

Kinnilea and Kirrikuriky Union.—Colonel Thomas Roberts; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Herrick; Major John Roberts.

Kinsale Volunteers.—Colonel Kearny; Captain Leary.

Killivan Volunteers.—December 25th, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Major William Smith.

Kilmain Horse and Infantry.

Knox's Independent Troop.

Lagan Volunteers.

Larne Royal Volunteers.

Lawyers' Corps.—April, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel Townley Patten Filgate.

Lambeg, Lisburne, &c., Volunteers.—R. H. M'Neil, Commandant.

Lawyers' Artillery.—Captain William Holt.

Larne Independents.—April, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain White.

Leap Independents.—March 17th, 1780; blue, faced blue, edged white. Colonel Jonathan Darby.

Lecale Battalion (County Down).—Lieutenant Charles Mc'Carthy.  
 Leitrim Rangers.

Liberty Volunteers.—July, 1779; scarlet, faced pea green. Colonel Sir Edward Newenham; Captain Edward Newenham.

Liberty Artillery.—Captain Tandy.

Limavady Battalion.—November 7th, 1777; scarlet, faced black. Colonel James Boyle.

Limerick Loyal Volunteers.—Brigadier General Thomas Smyth; Captain George Pitt.

Limerick Independents.—September, 1776; scarlet, faced green, silver lace. Colonel John Prendergast; Major C. Powell.

Limerick Volunteers.

Limerick Cavalry.—Scarlet, faced blue, silver lace.

Liney Volunteers.—1778; scarlet, faced blue. Major George Dodwell.

Lisburne Fusileers.—Scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant John Kemby.

Lismore Independent Blues.

Londonderry Regiment.—Colonel John Ferguson.

Londonderry Independent Volunteer Company.—Captain J. Ferguson.

Londonderry Fusileers.—June 14th, 1778; scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant A. Scott; Adjutant Henry Delap.

Longford (County) Light Horse.—Earl of Granard.

Longford Light Horse.—1779; buff, faced black. Colonel H. Nisbitt.

Lorha Rangers.—Captain Walsh.

Loughal Volunteers.

Loughgall Volunteers.—Captain J. Blackall.

Loughinshillen Volunteers.

Loughinshillen Battalion.—General Right Hon. Thomas Conolly; Colonel Staples; Lieut. Colonel Dawson; Major John Downing.

Lower Iveagh Legion.

Lowtherstown, &c., Independent Volunteers.—1779; scarlet, faced black. Colonel William Irvine.

Maguire's Bridge Volunteers.

Magherafelt (First) Volunteers.—June, 1773; scarlet, faced black. Captain A. Tracy; Lieutenant Richard Dawson; Ensign R. Montgomery.

Mallow Independent Volunteers.

Mallow Boyne Cavalry and Infantry.—(Cavalry) Captain Rogerson Cotter; (Infantry) Captain Wm. Gallway.

Maryborough Volunteers.—May, 1776; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Sir J. Parnell, Bart.

Meath Volunteers.

Merchants' Corps.—June 9th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Captain Theos. Dixon; Captain C. M. M'Mahon.

Merchants' Artillery.—Captain George Maquay.

Mitchelstown Independent Light Dragoons.—Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Right Hon. Lord Kingsborough; Lieut. Col. Henry Cole Bowen, Esq.; Major James Badham Thornhill.

Monaghan Independents.

Monaghan Rangers.—January 10th, 1780; scarlet, faced white. Colonel William Forster.

Monaghan First Battalion.—Col. J. Montgomery.

Monastereven Volunteers.—October, 1778; scarlet, faced white. Captain Houlton Anderson.

Mote Light Infantry.—1778; scarlet, faced pea-green. Colonel Sir H. Lynch Blosse, Bart.

Mountain Rangers.—August 15th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Bernard ; Major George Clarke ; Captain John Drought.

Mountmelick Volunteers.

Mountnorris Volunteers.

Moycashel Association.—Col. Hon. Robert Rochfort ; Captain John Lyons.

Mullingar Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Grauard ; Lieut. Colonel William Judge.

Munster Volunteers.

Muskerry True Blue Light Dragoons.—Colonel Robert Warren ; Lieutenant Colonel R. Hutchinson ; Major Samuel Swete.

Muskerry True Blues.

Muskerry Volunteers.—Captain Commandant Thomes Barker, Esq.

Mulling Association.—Captain Robert Moore.

Nass Rangers.—December 10th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced white. Captain Commandant R. Neville.

Newberry Loyal Musqueteers.

Newmarket Rangers.—Colonel Boyle Aldworth ; Major Wm. Allen.

Newport Volunteers.—Captain Richard Waller.

New Ross Independents.—November 17th, 1777 ; scarlet, faced black. Colonel B. Elliot.

Newcastle and Donore Union.—Captain Verschoyle.

Newry Volunteers, (1st Company).—Captain Benson.

Newry Volunteers, (3rd Company).—Captain David Bell.

Newry Rangers.—Captain Benson.

Newtown and Castlecomer Battalion.—Captain Commandant Robert Stewart.

Newry 1st Regiment, or Newry Legion.

Offerlane Blues.—October 10th, 1773 ; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Luke Flood.

Orior Grenadiers.—September 13th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced black. Captain James Dawson.

Ormond Independents.—Colonel Toler ; Lieutenant Wm. Greenshields.

Ormond Union.—Captain Ralph Smith.

Ossory True Blues.—July 1st, 1779 ; scarlet, edged blue. Colonel Edward Flood ; Major Robert Palmer.

Owzle Galley Corps.—Captain Theo. Thompson.

Parsontown Loyal Independents.—Feb. 15th, 1776 ; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Col. Sir William Parsons, Bart. ; Major L. Parsons ; Captain B. B. Warburton ; Lieutenant Edward Tracy.

Passage Union Volunteers.

Portarlington Infantry.—September 18th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced yellow, silver lace. Major Commandant W. H. Legrand ; Captain James Stannus. Captain Henry Carey ; Ensign Annesley Carey.

Raford Brigade, (Light Cavalry.)—Dec. 26th, 1779 ; scarlet, edged blue, gold lace. Colonel Denis Daly.

Rakenny Volunteers.—Colonel Theophilus Clements.

Ralphsdale Light Dragoons.—Scarlet, faced yellow. Captain John Tandy.

Ramelton Volunteers.—Captain James Watt.

Raphoe Battalion.—July 1st, 1778 ; scarlet, faced blue. Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbett.

Rathdown Carbineers.—Major Edwards.

Rathdown Light Dagoons, (Co. Dublin.)—June, 1779 ; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Sir John Allen Johnson, Bart.

Rathdowny Volunteers.—Feb., 1776 ; scarlet, faced white. Colonel J. Palmer.

Rathangan Union.—August 2nd, 1782; scarlet, faced white. Captain Wm. Montgomery.

Rockingham Volunteers.—September 7th, 1779; blue, faced blue, edged scarlet, yellow buttons. Colonel Nixon; Major Chamney.

Rosanallis Volunteers.—July 1st, 1774; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Richard Croasdale; Major George Sandes; Captain L. Sandes; Captain J. Sabatier; Captain A. Johnson; Lieutenant Wm. Tracey.

Roscrea Blues.—July 21st, 1779; blue, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel L. Parsons.

Roscommon Independent Forresters.—May 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Colonel R. Waller; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas M'Dermott; Major Edward Dowling.

Ross Union Rangers.—August 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced green. Colonel Drake.

Ross Volunteer Guards.—September 20th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Captain Lieut. H. T. Houghton.

Roxborough Volunteers.—1777; scarlet, faced blue, silver epaulettes. Colonel William Perse.

Royal 1st Regiment, (Co. Antrim.)—Scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Major A. M'Manus.

Saintfield Light Infantry.—Captain Nicholas Price.

Skreen Corps.—Lord Killeen.

Skreen Corps of Dragoons.—Colonel John Dillon; Captain James Cheney.

Slane Volunteers.—Lieutenant John Forbes.

Slievardagh Light Dragoons.

Sligo Loyal Volunteers.—May 25th, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Lieutenant-Colonel Ormsby.

Society Volunteers of Derry.—March 17th, 1782; scarlet, faced blue. Captain William Moore.

Strabane Battalion.—Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton.

Sradbally Volunteers.—October 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Thomas Cosby.

Strokestown Light Horse.—November, 1779; scarlet, faced yellow. Major Gilbert Conry.

Talbotstown Invincibles.—December, 1780; scarlet, faced deep green. Colonel Nicholas Westby; Major John Smith; Lieutenant F. W. Greene.

Tallow Blues.—Captain Commandant George Bowles.

Tipperary Light Dragoons and Infantry.—Lieutenant-Colonel Baker.

Tipperary Volunteers.—May 1st, 1776; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Captain James Roe.

Tralee Royal Volunteers.—January 7th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, gold lace. Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Bart.

Trim Infantry.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Captain W. H. Finlay.

Trim and Ratoath Volunteers.—Colonel Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley).

True Blue Legion (City of Cork).—Colonel the Right Hon. Earl of Shannon; Lieutenant Colonel Morrison.

True Blue and Society Volunteers.

True Blue Legion (Co. of Cork).—Colonel Right Hon. Earl of Shannon; Lieutenant Colonel James Morrison; Major Michael Westropp.

True Blue Volunteers (Londonderry).—Captain Lieutenant Moore; Captain William Lecky.

True Blue Battalion, (Co. Fermanagh).—Colonel Archdall; Capt. Lendrum.

Tullamore True Blue Rangers.—October 28th, 1778 ; scarlet, faced blue, silver lace. Colonel Charles Wm. Bury.

Tullow Rangers.—August 10th, 1778 ; scarlet, faced black, white buttons. Captain Whelan.

Tully Ash Real Volunteers.—October 15th, 1783 ; scarlet, faced black, silver lace. Colonel J. Dawson Lawrence; Captain A. Dawson Lawrence.

Tyrawley Rangers.

Tyrell True Blues.

Tyrel's Pass Volunteers.—1776 ; gray, faced scarlet, silver lace. Captain Hon. Robert Moore.

Tyrone First Regiment.—July, 1780 ; scarlet, faced deep blue. Colonel James Stewart; Lieutenant Colonel Charlton.

Ulster Volunteer True Blue Battalion.—September 3rd, 1779 ; blue, faced scarlet. Major Robert Barden; Lieutenant George Tandy.

Ulster (First) Regiment.—Scarlet, faced white. Colonel Earl of Charlemont; Lieut. Colonels Sir W. Synnot, Right Hon. Wm. Brownlow, C. M'Causland ; Captain G. W. Molyneux.

Ulster (Third) Regiment.—Lieut. Colonel William Ross.

Ulster (Fourth) Regiment.—Scarlet, faced blue. Colonel R. M'Clintock.

Ulster Regiment.

Ulster Regiment Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet. Captain Thomas Ward.

Union Regiment (Moira).—Lieut. Colonel Sharman ; Captain Patton.

Union Rangers.—Captain Arthur Dawson.

Union Light Dragoons (Co. Meath).—Scarlet, faced green. Captain G. Lucas Nugent.

Union Light Dragoons (City of Dublin).—Sept. 12th, 1780 ; scarlet, faced green. Captain Command. R. Cornwall ; Lieut. J. Talbot Ashenhurst.

Upper Cross and Coolock Independent Volunteers.—October, 1779 ; scarlet, faced black.

Waterford Volunteer Companies (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5).

Waterford City Royal Oak Volunteers.

Waterford Artillery and Infantry (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.)—Captain Hannibal Wm. Dobbyn.

Waterford Royal Battalion.—April 25th, 1770 ; scarlet, faced blue. Major William Alcock ; Captain Robert Shapland Carew.

Waterford Artillery.—Captain Joshua Paul.

Waterford Infantry.

Waterford Union.—Nov. 6th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced green. Captains Thomas Christmas.

Westport Volunteers.

Wexford Independent Light Dragoons.—Autumn of 1775 ; scarlet, faced royal blue. Colonel John Beauman.

Wexford Independents.

Wexford Independent Volunteers.—October 4th, 1779 ; scarlet, faced black. Captain and Adjutant Miller Clifford.

White House Volunteers.

Wicklow Forresters.—July 1st, 1779 ; scarlet, faced light blue. Colonel Samuel Hayes ; Captain Thomas King ; Captain Andrew Prior.

Wicklow Association Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet. Thomas Montgomery Blair, Esq.

Willsborough Volunteers.—October, 1779 ; dark green, edged white. Colonel Thomas Willis ; Major Owen Young.

Youghal Independent Rangers.—Lieutenant Colonel Meade Hobson ; Major John Swayne.

Youghal Independent Volunteers.—Captain Boles.

Youghal Union.—Major Thomas Green.

LIST OF THE DELEGATES  
WHO COMPOSED THE  
GRAND NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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Those Members who never took their seats in the Convention, are in Italic.

Thus marked \* were confined by illness, and could not attend their duty in the Convention.

Thus marked † opposed the Plan of Reform in the Convention.

Thus marked ‡, appeared lukewarm in the Convention.

Thus marked \*\* relinquished their patronage of rotten boroughs for the public benefit.

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

Right Honourable Colonel John O'Neill,	Lieutenant-Colonel Sharman,
Honourable Colonel Rowley,	Colonel T. Morris Jones,
	Captain Todd Jones.

COUNTY OF THE TOWN OF CARRICKFERGUS.

Rev. Mr. Bruce,	Mr. Henry Joy, junior.
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COUNTY OF ARMAGH.

General Earl of Charlemont, **	Lieutenant-Colonel Right Honourable William Brownlow,
Colonel Right Honourable Sir Capel Molyneaux, Baronet,	Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Wm. Synnott,
	Captain James Dawson.

COUNTY OF DERRY.

Lord Bishop of Derry,	Colonel Right Honourable Edward Carey,
Colonel Right Honourable Thomas Conolly,	Captain Ferguson.
Captain Leckey,	

COUNTY OF CAVAN.

Captain F. Saunderson,	Honourable J. J. Maxwell,
Lord Farnham, †	Captain Henry Clements.
General G. Montgomery,	

COUNTY OF DOWN.

Colonel Right Honourable Robert Stewart,	Major Crawford,
Captain Matthew Forde, junior,	Colonel Patrick Savage,
	Captain Gawn Hamilton.

COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

Colonel Irvine,	Jason Hazard, Esq.
Colonel Sir A. Brooke, Baronet,	Captain James Armstrong.
Captain A. C. Hamilton,	

## COUNTY OF DONEGAL.

Colonel A. Montgomery,	Colonel Robert M'Clintock,
Colonel John Hamilton,	Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Nesbitt.
Lieutenant-Colonel A. Stewart,	

## COUNTY OF MONAGHAN.

Colonel Charles Pow. Leslie,	Captain William Forster,
Colonel Francis Lucas,	Captain James Hamilton.
Colonel J. Montgomery,	

## COUNTY OF TYRONE.

Colonel Stewart,	Lieutenant-Colonel Charleton
Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery,	Captain Eccles.
Colonel James Alexander,	

## PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

## COUNTY OF GALWAY.

Colonel Perse,	Major William Burke,
Edward Kirwan, Esq.,	Colonel Walter Lambert.
Peter D'Arcy, Esq.,	

## COUNTY OF LEITRIM.

Colonel Latouche,	Colonel Cullen,
Colonel Teneson,	Colonel Crofton.
Colonel Peyton,	

## COUNTY OF MAYO.

Colonel Sir H. L. Blosse, Baronet,	Colonel Edmond Jordan,
Colonel Dominick G. Browne,	Colonel Patrick Randall M'Donnell.
Valentia Blake, Esq.,	

## COUNTY OF ROSCOMMON.

Colonel Arthur French,	Colonel Christopher Lyster,
Captain Edward Crofton,	Counsellor Dennis Kelly.
Colonel Maurice Mahon,	

## COUNTY OF SLIGO.

Right Honourable General Henry King,	Colonel O'Hara,†
Right Honourable Joshua Cooper,	Robert Lyons, Esq.,
	Major George Dodwell.

## COUNTY OF THE TOWN OF GALWAY.

Colonel Flood, **	Major Browne,
Counsellor Blossett,	Counsellor Martin Kirwan,
Lieutenant-Colonel French,	

## PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.

## COUNTY OF CARLOW.

Colonel Bagenal,	Colonel Rochfort,
Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Charles Burton, Baronet,	Captain Stewart,
	Rev. Mr. Ryan.

## COUNTY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

Colonel Sir Edward Newenham, Knight, Lieutenant-Colonel Graydon,	Captain Warren, Captain Cornwall, Benjamin Wills, Esq.
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## COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

Colonel Sir J. A. Johnston, Baro- net, Colonel Sir J. S. Tynte, Baronet,	Colonel Deane, Captain Baker, Major Verschoyle.
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## COUNTY OF THE TOWN OF DROGHEDA.

Colonel William Meade Ogle,	Colonel H. M. Lyons
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## QUEEN'S COUNTY.

Colonel John Warburton, Colonel Joseph Palmer, Colonel Luke Flood,	Colonel Charles White, Captain James Stephens.
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## COUNTY OF LOUTH.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lee, Major William Sheil, Captain Thomas Read,	Lieutenant J. W. Foster, Captaiu Zach. Maxwell.
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## COUNTY OF MEATH.

Colonel Baron Dillon, Captain Forbes, Captain Trotter,	Captain Ruxton, Captaiu Finlay.
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## COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

Colonel Westby, Colonel Hayes, Colonel Nixon,	Colonel Saunders, Colonel the Earl of Aldoborough,**
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## COUNTY OF WESTMEATH.

Honourable Colonel Rochfort, Captain Lyons, Honourable Captain Moore,	Lieutenant-Colonel William Thomas Smyth, Colonel Clibborn.*
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## COUNTY OF KILDARE.

John Wolfe, Esq., Honourable John Bourke, Richard Neville, Esq.,	Maurice Keating, Esq., Michael Aylmer, Esq.
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## COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

General George Ogle,† Sir Vesey Colclough, Baronet,** Lord Viscount Valentia,	Richard Neville, Esq., Colonel Hatton.†
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## COUNTY OF LONGFORD.

R. L. Edgeworth, Esq., Major Fox, Major Sandys,*	Colonel William Gleadowe New- comen, Baronet, Colonel Nesbitt.
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## KING'S COUNTY.

General Sir William Parsons, Baronet,	Colonel C. W. Bury,
Colonel John Lloyd,	Colonel Johnston Darby,
	Colonel James Francis Rolleston.

## COUNTY OF KILKENNY.

Lieutenant-Colonel Knaresborough,	Captain Elliott,
Major Wemys.	Counsellor Lockington.
Captain Helsham,	

## COUNTY OF THE CITY OF KILKENNY.

Colonel Thomas Butler,	Lieutenant-Colonel Mossom.
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## PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.

## COUNTY OF CORK.

Right Honourable Lord Kingsborough,	<i>Sir John Conway Colthurst, Baronet,</i>
Fr. Bernard, Esq.,**	Major Thomas Fitzgerald.
Colonel Roche,	

## COUNTY OF THE CITY OF CORK.

Colonel Bousfield,	Richard Fitton, Esq.,
Colonel Bagwell,	<i>Colonel R. Longfield.</i>
Richard Moore, Esq.	

## COUNTY OF CLARE.

Colonel Sir H. Dillon Massey, Baronet.	Colonel Blood,
Colonel Edward Fitzgerald,	Major Stackpole,
	Colonel Francis Macnamara.

## COUNTY OF KERRY.

General Sir Barry Deuny, Baronet,	Robert Day, Esq.,*
Richard Townsend Herbert, Esq.,	Colonel Mahony.
Colonel Gunn,	

## COUNTY OF LIMERICK.

Honourable Colonel Hugh Massey,**	Colonel John Fitzgerald,
Colonel Richard Bourke,	Major Powell,
	Major Croker.

## COUNTY OF THE CITY OF LIMERICK.

Colonel Thomas Smyth,	<i>Major Hart,*</i>
<i>Colonel Edmond H. Pery,</i>	Henry D'Esterre, Esq.,
Colonel Prendergast,	

## COUNTY OF TIPPERARY.

Thomas Hackett, Esq.,	Colonel Sir William Barker,
Colonel Daniel Toler,	Captain Alleyn.
Major Edward Moore,	

## COUNTY OF WATERFORD.

John Congreve, Esq.,	S. J. Newport, Esq.,
Sir Richard Musgrave,	John Kaine, Esq.
Thomas Christmas, Esq.,	

## COUNTY OF THE CITY OF WATERFORD.

Captain Robert S. Carew,	Counsellor William Morris,
Captain H. Alcock,	Captain Dobbyn.
Captain Bolton,	

## MUNSTER VOLUNTEERS.

*Cavalry of County Cork.*

True Blue of Cork.—1745; blue, laced silver, epaulettes, white buttons. Colonel Richard Earl Shannon.

Mitchelstown Light Dragoons.—July, 1774; scarlet, faced black, silver epaulettes, yellow helmets, white buttons. Col. Viscount Kingsborough.

Blackpool Horse.—1776; green, laced gold, ditto epaulettes, buff waistcoat and breeches. Colonel John Harding.

Youghal Cavalry.—1776; scarlet, faced white. Captain Commandant Robert Ball.

Bandon Cavalry.—May 6th, 1778; dark olive green jacket, half lappelled, crimson velvet cuffs and collar, silver epaulettes. Col. Sampson Stawell.

Muskerry Blue L. D.—June 1st, 1778; blue lappelled, edged white, silver epaulettes, white jackets, edged blue. Colonel Robert Warren.

Duhallow Rangers.—1778. Colonel Hon. Charles Percival.

Imokilly Horse.—Sept. 1778; scarlet, faced black, yellow buttons, gold epaulettes, yellow helmets, white jackets, edged red. Col. Ed. Roche.

Kilworth L. D.—July, 1779; scarlet, faced green, gold epaulettes, yellow buttons, and helmets. Colonel Stephen Marl Mountcashel.

Imokilly Blue Horse.—1779; blue, faced red. Col. Robt. Uniack Fitzgerald.

Doneraile Rangers L. D.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced green, edged white, gold epaulettes, yellow buttons and helmets, green jackets, faced red. Colonel St. Leger Lord Doneraile.

Glanmire Union.—August 27th, 1779; deep green, faced black. Colonel Henry Mannix.

Cork Cavalry.—Scarlet, faced blue, silver laced, silver epaulettes, white buttons. Colonel Wm. Chetwynd.

Mallow Cavalry.—1782; green jackets. Colonel Cotter.

Great Island Cavalry.—June 24th, 1782; scarlet, faced green, gold epaulettes, yellow buttons, white jackets, edged red. Capt. W. Colthurst.

*Cavalry of County Clare.*

County Clare Horse.—July 24th, 1779; scarlet, faced dark green, silver epaulettes and buttons, white jackets, green cape. Col. E. Fitzgerald.

Sixmile-Bridge Independents.—Colonel Francis M'Namara.

*Cavalry of County Kerry.*

Kerry Legion Cavalry.—Jan. 1779; scarlet, faced black, edged white, silver epaulettes, white buttons. Major Command. Rowland Bateman.

Woodford Rangers.—Colonel Wm. Townsend Gun.

*Cavalry of County Limerick.*

Kilfinnan L. D.—1777; scarlet jackets, faced Pomona green, silver laced, and epaulettes. Col. John Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin.

County Limerick Horse.—June 8th, 1779; scarlet, faced black, yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and breeches, yellow helmets. Col. John Croker.

Coonagh Rangers.—June, 1779; scarlet, faced black, yellow buttons. Col. Robert Lord Muskerry.

County Limerick Royal Horse.—June 28th, 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Col. Hon. Hugh Massey.

Small County Union L. D.—Scarlet, faced green. Col. John Grady.

True Blue Horse.—Colonel William Thomas Monsel.

Connello Light Horse.—Scarlet, faced goslin green, dark green jackets. Col. Thomas Odell.

Riddlestown Hussars.—Scarlet, faced blue, silver epaulettes, white buttons, white jackets faced blue. Col. Gerald Blennerhasset.

*Cavalry of County Tipperary.*

Tipperary L. D.—May 1st, 1776; scarlet, faced black, white buttons, silver epaulettes. Col. Sir Cornelius Maude, Bart.

Templemore L. D.—1776; scarlet, faced black. Col. J. C. Carden.

Slievardagh L. D.—Sept. 1778; scarlet, faced white, laced silver, white buttons. Col. John Hamilton Lane.

Clanwilliam Union.—July, 1779; scarlet, faced blue, laced silver, silver epaulettes, white jackets, faced blue. Col. John Earl Clanwilliam.

Lora Rangers.—1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons, gold epaulettes. Col. Francis Mathew.

Munster Corps.—Scarlet, faced blue, gold laced, gold epaulettes, buff waistcoat and breeches, yellow buttons, buff jackets. Col. John L. Judkin.

Clogheen Union.—Jan. 6th, 1781; scarlet, faced light blue, edged silver lace, white buttons, silver epaulettes, white jackets, edged red. Col. Cor. O'Callaghan.

Ormond Union Cavalry.—Scarlet, faced white, silver epaulettes, white buttons. Col. Henry Prittie.

Newport Cavalry.—Scarlet, green collar and cuffs, yellow buttons, gold epaulettes. Col. Lord Jocelyn.

*Cavalry County Waterford.*

Lismore Blues.—July 1st, 1778; scarlet, faced blue, white buttons, silver epaulettes, white jackets edged blue. Capt. Com. Richard Musgrave.

Curraghmore Rangers.—Nov, 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced white, silver epaulettes, white buttons, white jackets, faced red. Col. Geo. Earl Tyrone.

Waterford Union.—Green jackets, crimson velvet cuffs and collar, silver epaulettes, white buttons. Captain John Congreve, Jun.

*Infantry County Cork.*

Cork Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet, yellow buttons, gold lace. Captain Richard Hare, Jun.

Imokilly Blue Artillery.—Blue, faced scarlet. Col. R. Uniacke Fitzgerald.

True Blue of Cork.—1745; blue, laced silver. Col. R. Earl Shannon.

Cork Boyne.—1776; blue, faced blue, yellow buttons, gold epaulettes and lace. Col. John Bagwell.

Mallow Boyne.—1776; blue, edged buff, buff waistcoat and breeches, yellow buttons. Col. Sir James Lawrence Cotter, Bt.

Bandon Boyne.—1777; blue, edged buff, yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and breeches, gold epaulettes. Eusign John Loane.

Carberry Independents.—May 20th, 1777; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Captain Command. William Beecher.

Aughrim of Cork.—1777; scarlet, edged white. Col. Rich. Longfield.

Loyal Newberry Musqueteers.—June, 1777; scarlet, faced black. Colonel Adam Newman.

Cork Union.—March, 1776; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Captain Commandant Henry Hickman.

Culloden Volun'eers of Cork.—March 23d, 1778; blue, faced scarlet, yellow buttons; officers, gold epaulettes. Colonel Benjamin Bousfield.

Ross Carberry Vo'lunteers.—Scarlet, faced blue. Colonel T. Hungerford.

Passage Union.—March 28th, 1778; scarlet, faced deep green, white buttons. Major Com. Michael Parker.

Bandon Independents.—March 29th, 1778; scarlet, faced black, gold epaulettes, yellow buttons, green jackets, faced black. Col. F. Bernard.

Youghal Independent Blues.—1778; blue, faced scarlet, edged white. Colonel Robert Uniacke.

Youghal Rangers.—April 19th; grass green, faced scarlet, gold lace and yellow buttons. Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Meade Hobson.

Kinsale Volunteers.—May 1st, 1778. Colonel James Kearney.

Hanover Society Clonakilty.—May 1st, 1778; scarlet, faced buff. Colonel Richard Hungerford.

Kanturk Volunteers.—May 1st, 1778; scarlet, faced buff. Colonel John James Earl of Egmont.

Hawke Union of Cove.—May 9th, 1778; blue, edged and lined buff, yellow buttons, buff waistcoat and breeches. Captain Com. Wm. Dickson.

Black Water Rangers.—Colonel Richard Aldworth.

Blarney Volunteers.—June 13th, 1778; scarlet, faced black, white buttons. Colonel George Jefferys.

Newmarket Rangers.—Aug. 4, 1778; blue, faced blue. Col. B. Aldworth.

Curriglass Volunteers.—April, 1779. Captain-Com. Peard Harrison Peard.

Castle Martyr Society.—May, 1779; scarlet, faced pale yellow. Captain William Hallaran.

Inchigeelam Volunteers.—June 1st, 1779; blue, edged buff, buff waistcoat and breeches. Captain-Commandant Jasper Masters.

Muskerry Volunteers.—June 19th, 1779; blue, edged buff, waistcoat and breeches. Captain-Commandant Thomas Barter.

Doneraile Rangers.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons, gold epaulettes. Colonel St. Leger Lord Doneraile.

Bantry Volunteers.—July 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced white. Col. H. White.

Kilworth Volunteers.—July, 1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Colonel Stephen Earl Mountcashel.

Mallow Independents.—1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Colonel John Longfield.

Youghal Union Fuzileers.—1779; scarlet, faced blue, edged white, white buttons. Major Commandant Thomas Green.

Duhallow Volunteers.—October, 1779; Colonel Broderick Chinnery.

Kinmelea and Kerrech Union.—December, 1779; blue, edged white, white buttons. Colonel Thomas Roberts.

Charleville Volunteers.—Colonel Chidley Coote.

Imokilly Blue Infantry.—Colonel Robert Uniack Fitzgerald.

Castlelyons Volunteers.—

*Infantry County Clare.*

Ennis Volunteers.—Sept. 12th, 1778; scarlet, faced black. Col. W. Blood.

Inchiquin Fuzileers.—Feb. 12th, 1779; scarlet, faced light blue, silver buttons, braided wings and shoulder straps, hat cocked one side, with large plume of black feathers. Colonel Murrough Earl of Inchiquin.

Kilrush Union.—June 11th, 1780; scarlet, faced blue. Col. C. Vandeleur.

*Infantry County Kerry.*

Royal Tralee Volunteers.—January 4th, 1779; scarlet, faced deep blue, edged white, yellow buttons, gold lace epaulettes and wings. Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Baronet.

Kerry Legion.—Jan., 1779; scarlet, faced black, edged white, white buttons. Col. Arthur Blennerhasset.

Killarney Foresters.—1779; Captain Com. Thomas Galway.

Gunsborough Union.—1779; Col. George Gun.

Miltown Fuzileers.—Major Com. Wm. Godfrey.

Laune Rangers.—Col. Rowland Blennerhasset.

Dromore Volunteers.—Col. John Mahony.

*Infantry County Limerick.*

Royal Glin Artillery.—June, 1779; blue, laced gold, gold epaulettes, scarlet cuffs and collar, yellow buttons, gold laced hats. Col. John Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin.

Kilfinan Foot.—1776; scarlet, faced Pomona green. Col. Rt. Hon. S. Oliver.

Loyal Limerick Volunteers.—Feb. 10th, 1776; scarlet, faced white, white buttons; Col. Thomas Smyth.

County Limerick Fensible Volunteers.—1778; scarlet, faced light blue. Col. John Thomas Walter.

Castle Connel Rangers.—July 8th, 1778; scarlet, faced black, edged white, silver wings. Col. Robert Lord Muskerry.

Adare Volunteers.—Scarlet, faced green. Col. Sir Valentine Rich'd Quin.

Rathkeale Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver wings; officers full laced. Col. George Leake.

German Fuzileers.—Col. James Darcey.

True Blue Foot.—Col. Wm. Thomas Monsel.

Limerick Independents.—October, 1781; scarlet, faced Pomona green, laced silver epaulettes. Lieut. Col. Com. John Smyth Pendergrast.

*Infantry County Tipperary.*

Tipperary Volunteers.—May 1st, 1776; scarlet, faced black, laced wings. Col. Sir Cornelius Maude, Baronet.

Roscrea Blues.—Blue, faced blue, edged scarlet. Col. Lawrence Parsons.

Ormond Union.—1779; scarlet, faced white, silver epaulettes, and white buttons. Col. Henry Prittie.

Ormond Independents.—March 23d, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver epaulettes and wings. Col. Daniel Tolér.

Burrosakane Volunteers.—March 25th, 1779; Col. George Stoney.

Clonmel Independents.—June 4th, 1779; scarlet, faced black, white buttons. Col. Richard Moore.

Cashel Volunteers.—June, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Col. R. Pennefather.

Feathard Independents.—June, 1779; scarlet, faced black. Col. W. Barton.

Nenagh Volunteers.—July 1st, 1779; black, faced red. Col. P. Holmes.

Castle-Otway Volunteers.—Scarlet, faced green. Col. Thomas Otway.

Thurles Union.—August, 1779; Col. Francis Mathew.

Drum Division of Ditto.—August, 1779; scarlet, faced green, yellow buttons. Col. Theobald Butler.

Killcooly True Blues.—1779, blue, edged buff, yellow buttons, buff waist-coat and breeches. Col. Sir Wm. Barker, Baronet.

Newport Volunteers.—Scarlet, green collar, yel. buttons Col. Lord Jocelyn.

Carrick Union.—Sept., 1779; blue, faced red. Col. Geo. Earl Tyrone.

Caher Union.—Jan. 1, 1781; blue, faced red. Col. Hon. Pierce Butler.

Waterford Artillery.—Blue, faced red, yellow buttons. Captain Jos. Paul.

*Infantry County Waterford.*

Waterford Independents, No. 1 and 6.—March, 1778; scarlet, faced black, white buttons, silver laced hats. Captain Com. Henry Alcock. Second Battalion, or No. 6.—Lieutenant Henry Hayden.

Waterford Independents, No. 2.—March, 1778; scarlet, faced black, silver laced wings, white buttons. Captain Robert Shapland Carew.

Waterford Independents, No. 3.—May, 1778; scarlet, faced green. Capt. Hanibal Wm. Dobbyn.

Tallow Independent Blues.—August 1st, 1778; blue, edged white. Capt. Com. George Bowles.

Royal Oaks, or Waterford Independents, No. 4 and 5.—Sept., 1779; scarlet, faced blue. Col. and Capt. Cornelius Bolton.

Dungarvan Volunteers.—Nov. 1st, 1779; scarlet, faced black, silver laced wing, white buttons. Col. Rt. Hon. John Beresford.

Cappoquin Volunteers.—1779; scarlet, faced white. Col. J. Kean.

Waterford Grenadiers, or No. 7.—June, 1782; scarlet, faced yellow, wings silver laced, white buttons. Capt. David Wilson.



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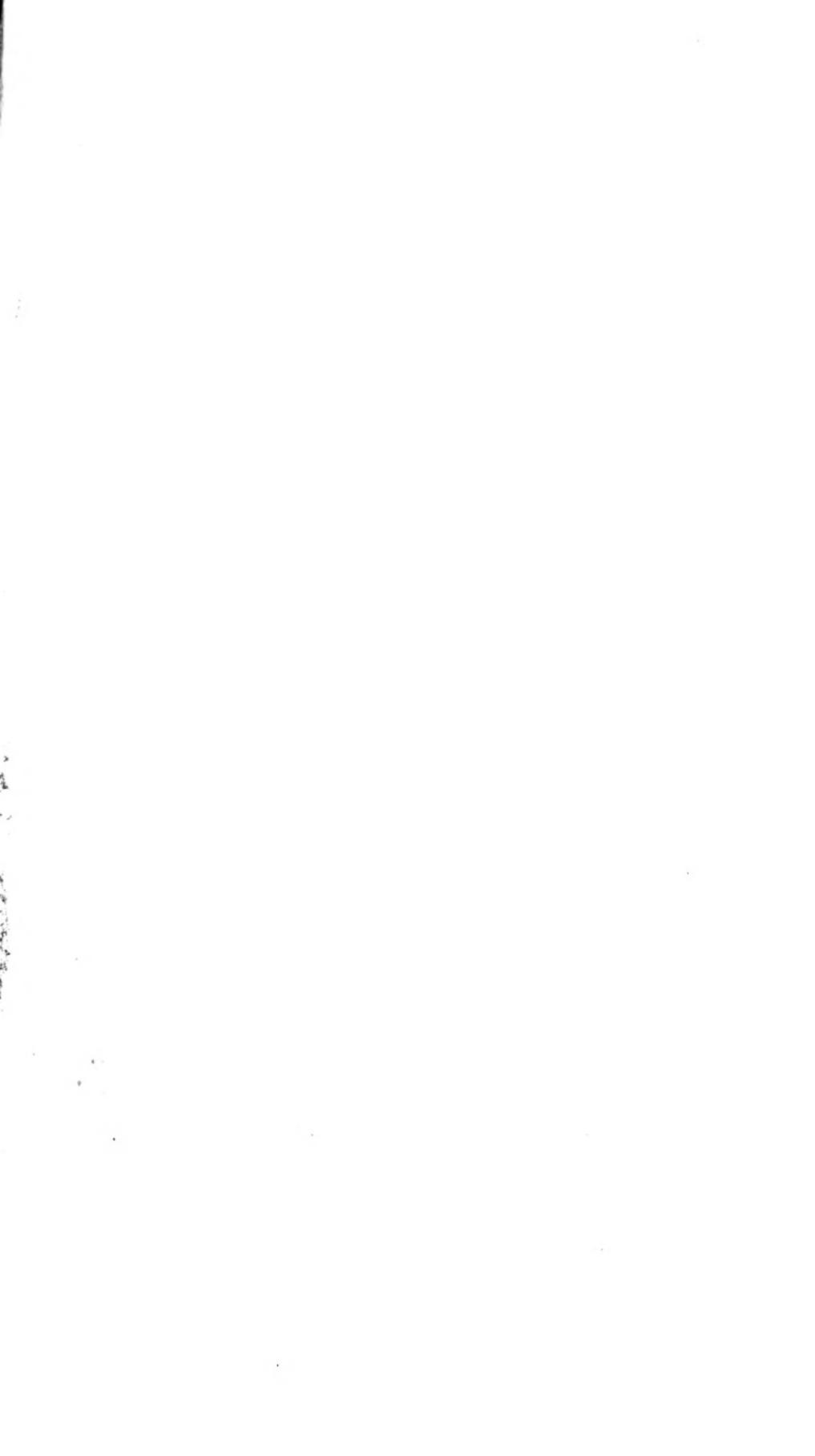
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